PROGRESSIVE
EDUCATION

MAY
1949

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL ENGINEERING

OUTLINE OF METHOD

ETHICS OF SOCIAL ENGINEERING

PRINCIPLES AND TECHNIQUES

DAVID H. JENKINS • MAX R. GOODSON • KENNETH D. BENNE
HERBERT A. THELEN • LELAND P. BRADFORD • JOHN WITHALL

MAGAZINE OF THE AMERICAN EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

▼▼▼

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION is published monthly from October through May (excepting December) by the American Education Fellowship at Urbana, Illinois. Send manuscripts and editorial inquiries for the Office of Publication to P. O. Box 33, University Station, Urbana, Illinois. All other communications should be sent to American Education Fellowship, P. O. Box 33, University Station, Urbana, Illinois, or 34 Main Street, Champaign Illinois. Original entry as second class matter at Post Office at New York City on October 14, 1935; reentry at the Post Office at Urbana, Illinois, as second class matter, on October 12, 1948. Annual subscription price. Domestic, $4.25 (including Mexico); Foreign, $4.75 (including Canada); Single copies, 50c. Make checks payable to American Education Fellowship.

▼▼▼

In This Issue:

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

MAY, 1949
Vol. 26 No. 7

SOCIAL ENGINEERING IN EDUCATIONAL CHANGE: AN OUTLINE OF METHOD

by DAVID H. JENKINS

The rationale and techniques of social engineering have been developing rapidly in the past decade. It is now possible to state some of the basic features of social engineering and to apply them to the problems of educational change. The reader will find in this article a clear and succinct statement of the basic elements of social and educational engineering. The author is at the University of Michigan.

Whenever we attempt to do something constructive about a problem in which individuals or groups are involved we become, in effect, "social engineers." To the extent that we use good "engineering techniques" we may be considered "efficient" engineers, most likely to produce those changes which we have set out to make. *Social engineering, as defined here, is the controlled planning and arranging of a series of events or procedures to lead to some determined result.*

For example, in a particular classroom we may find teachers and students planning some experience they are going to share. Here members of the entire group, including the teacher, are acting as social engineers, planning to change their own situation and to be changed in the process. The "efficiency" of this procedure will be measured in terms of movement toward the goals which are accepted by this particular group.

The principal and the teachers may be working together in a school to establish the most worthwhile school environment they can supply. A school superintendent, as he develops school policy, facilitates professional growth of his staff, and in almost all of his other activities finds himself making plans and arrangements affecting people. All of us, it seems, who work in the field of education find a major part of our time and energy being devoted to problems of social engineering.

In this article we would like to explore one approach toward problems of social engineering and to see how it might apply to the kinds of problems we find in the school setting. Suppose, for example, we feel that there is not enough teacher-pupil planning in the classrooms in our high school, and we want to see a change from the more teacher-centered methods of working with a class to methods using more pupil participation in planning. As a group of interested teachers, how can we begin to tackle a problem such as this?

STEPS IN SOCIAL ENGINEERING

There seem to be four general steps which must be taken if the changes which are desired are to be effected: (1) Analyzing the present situation, (2) Determining the changes which are required, (3) Making the changes indicated by the analysis of the situation, and (4) Stabilizing the new situation so that it will be maintained. Let us look at these steps in detail to see what they may imply.

ANALYZING THE PRESENT SITUATION

Before effective plans for change can be made the present state of affairs must be defined as accurately as possible. This is the step familiar to most of us under various names such as "diagnosis" or "definition of the problem." The specific question that we might ask about our problem is, "Why don't we change our teaching methods, or *what are the forces which are keeping our methods in their present 'groove'?*" At first glance we often feel that the

present condition exists because no one has the energy to make it any different—there is just too much "inertia." Yet, as we explore further it becomes clearer that there may be some very strong forces preventing substantial changes of any kind from occurring.

In our example, there might be several forces which point toward more teacher-pupil planning in the classroom: (a) a generally progressive philosophy of education may be accepted by a large number of teachers; (b) the teachers want to train students in the ways of living as citizens in a democracy; (c) the pupils desire some freedom in making decisions.

But there are also some forces which seem to be opposed to changes in that direction, such as: (a) many teachers lack training and skill in methods of planning cooperatively with pupils; (b) leaving the present methods and experimenting with the "unknown" makes us, like anyone else, feel insecure; (c) criticism may be directed against the school by the more conservative parents; (d) pupils have little skill in planning together. Forces like these which oppose each other determine the present level of methods which are used in the classroom.

DRIVING FORCES AND RESTRAINING FORCES

Forces such as those above seem to be of two kinds. *Driving forces* are those forces or factors affecting a situation which are "pushing" in a particular direction; they tend to initiate a change and keep it going. One's desire to be a more effective teacher is an example of a driving force; one is continually trying to improve regardless of his present skill.

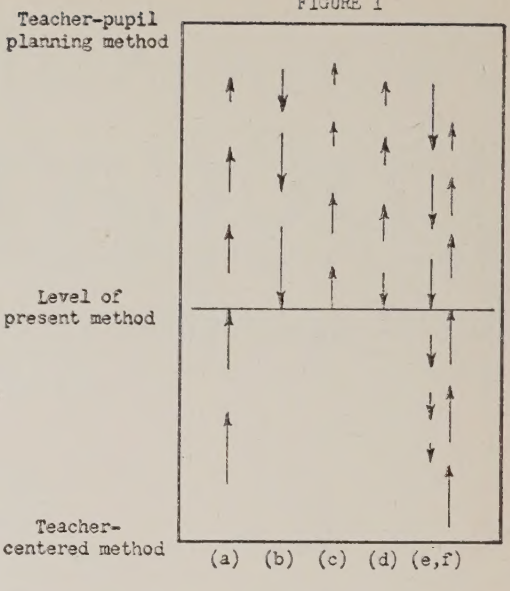
Restraining forces may be likened to walls or barriers. They only prevent or retard movement toward them. They do not "push back," they only "hold back." Any lack of skill we may have in using teacher-pupil planning methods in the classroom may be termed a restraining force against practicing this method.

As we see later, these two types of forces become particularly important when we attempt to stabilize a new condition to be sure it is continued.

THE FORCE FIELD

A group of forces such as are shown in Figure I may be called a "force field." The top of the figure may be designated as teacher-pupil planning method, and the bottom of the figure as teacher-centered method. The arrows pointing downward represent the restraining forces which are keeping the methods from including more pupil participation and the driving forces toward more teacher-centered methods. The arrows pointing upward represent the restraining forces which are keeping the methods from becoming more teacher-centered and the driving forces toward more pupil participation. The length of each arrow

FIGURE I



represents the relative strength of the force at that particular point—the longer the arrow the stronger the force.

As we see, the force field is made up of several forces of varying strengths which oppose each other. The strength of a particular force may itself vary at different levels (force (a) in Figure I is weak at levels near teacher-pupil planning but strong at levels near teacher-centered method). *The present condition (the present level of the method) is at that level where the sum of all the downward forces and the sum of all the upward forces are equal.*[1] It is represented for our example by the line near the center marked "level of present methods." This means that all the forces which are affecting the methods being used in our school are such that our methods are being maintained at a level about half way between teacher-pupil planning and teacher-centered methods—we are probably doing some of each. If we analyze our situation and find that the opposing forces do not seem to be equal we may have overlooked some important factors.

SOME EXAMPLES OF FORCES

Let us look briefly at some examples of the different kinds of forces we might find in our situation:

If the teachers in our group have a generally progressive philosophy of education it might be described by force (a) in Figure I. This is a driving force having some effect throughout all levels of teaching

[1]This type of analysis of the "equilibrium of change" was developed by the late Kurt Lewin in a pioneering article, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics: Concept, Method, and Reality in Social Science; Social Equilibria and Social Change," *Human Relations* vol. I, No. 1, June, 1947, pp. 5-41.

method, but the more teacher-centered the current method (i. e., the lower the level of equilibrium) the greater pressure this force would exert toward increasing the amount of teacher-pupil planning.

If we lack skill in using pupil participation in planning, it might look like force (b). Here is a strong restraining force effective only at levels above our present level.

Force (c) represents our belief that as teachers increase the pupil participation in planning they will gain greater personal satisfactions from their teaching. These satisfactions will stimulate them to increase their use of this method. This force, one which acts as a driving force after some change has occurred, is described by the statement, "If I can only get them started, I know they will like it."

Sometimes we might find that the administration in a school is hesitant to make changes because of the administrative procedures involved. However, once changes are decided upon, they may take a very active part in seeing that they are carried through. The hesitancy to make changes might be represented as a restraining force which reverses its direction when the change is decided upon and becomes a driving force when a change has been initiated. It would look something like force (d).

In our community there would be wide differences of opinion among the parents toward teacher-pupil planning. Some might feel that it was a valuable experience, others might feel that it was time wasted. Forces (e) and (f) together could represent these influences. As more parents come to feel that teacher-pupil planning is valuable, force (e) would be reduced, and force (f) would be increased.

These are some examples of a few of the different kinds of forces we might discover in any particular situation. They may be either driving or restraining forces in either direction, of varying strengths, and effective throughout the entire field or only a portion of the field. All of these characteristics help us do a thorough analysis of the present condition.

PLANNING FOR CHANGE

Carrying through such an analysis as we have started, in terms of a specific situation, supplies the basis for planning change. When we have determined the nature of the forces which are affecting the present state of affairs we can think more clearly in selecting the forces or factors which should be modified if the conditions are to change in the direction we desire. *Changes will occur only as the forces are modified so that the level where the forces are equal is changed.*

As we wish to change our teaching methods in the direction of increased use of teacher-pupil planning, our task then becomes either to increase the total strength of the driving forces in that direction (upward in Figure I), or to decrease the total strength of forces opposing that direction (downward in Figure I) or both.

WAYS FORCES CAN BE CHANGED

The component forces can be modified in the following way: (1) *reducing or removing forces;* (2) *strengthening or adding forces;* (3) *changing the direction of the forces.*

In our example, one important force which almost necessarily requires reduction or removal is lack of skill in ways of using the methods of teacher-pupil planning. As we increase our skill in these methods we will, in effect, be reducing or removing a restraining force like (b) from being effective at the present level.

If we come to feel that these methods are essential if we are to put into effect our philosophy of education we have probably added a new driving force or strengthened one which was already present.

When it is possible, one of the most efficient ways to get change to occur is to change the direction of some of the forces. For instance, all teachers probably hold a common goal of training students to be good citizens in a democracy. However, there may be differences of opinions about the best way to do it. Many teachers may feel that an "efficient" classroom, directed by the teacher, will make the greatest contribution to good citizenship. For these teachers, the force representing their goal of good citizens would be in the downward direction in Figure I. If these teachers come to believe, instead, that better citizens are trained through cooperative planning between teachers and pupils, this force toward citizenship training would be reversed in direction, now pointing upward toward teacher-pupil planning. A change in the direction of a driving force has something like a double effect—it acts as a removal of the force in one direction, and an addition of a force in the opposite direction.

SELECTION OF THE FORCES TO BE MODIFIED

After we have analyzed a situation we are still faced with the problems of selecting which forces it will be possible and strategic to modify.

From the analysis, *the first step may be to determine what forces, if any, must be dealt with before a change can occur.* In our example it seems very likely that the restraining force representing lack of skill in actually using pupil participation in planning is one which must be removed before change can occur in that direction. We probably would find this force is of "infinite" strength and could not be overcome by adding strong driving forces. It must be reduced or removed.

When we have become aware of the forces which *must* be modified, we can then determine which of the remaining forces can most efficiently be modified to encourage a change in the level of present procedures.

Are there some forces whose direction can be reversed? How do we look at teacher-pupil planning? Do we see it as a means for training pupils for good citizenship in a democracy? Do we see it as a way to encourage more creative development and ideas? How do the parents look at pupil participation in planning? If they question it as a worthwhile method can their questions be satisfied?

Which opposing forces can be reduced with the least effort? Does the administration encourage alterations in classroom procedures such as might be suggested by this method? Are there opportunities for getting increased experience and skill in using such methods in the classroom? How much of a job would it be to retrain the students to accept planning as a part of their responsibility in the classroom? How can we reduce our own insecurities which seem bound to arise whenever we try to do something a different way?

Which augmenting or upward forces can be increased? Do all of us feel that one of the legitimate tasks of the classroom is to help the class gain maturity in making decisions for itself? Do we feel, as teachers, that we have freedom to experiment with new methods in the classroom and to participate in decisions with the administration in establishing new procedures?

Questions like these represent the kinds of forces which will need to be considered when we make plans to initiate change in our classroom methods. They are the ones from which the forces to be modified in securing changes will be selected.

We might select, as a first step, for instance, getting parents interested in having more pupil participation in planning in the classroom. As a result there may be no immediate change in classroom methods but, as the parents become interested, we, as teachers, may feel encouraged toward increasing our skill in these methods. With increased skill and increased parent interest two important forces in the situation have been modified and the level of equilibrium of forces (the level of present method) should move upward toward more teacher-pupil planning.

The criteria in selecting forces to be modified, then, are: (1) what forces, if modified, will be most likely to result in changing the level of the present condition in the desired direction, and (2) what forces can be modified most easily or quickly? When we take action on a sound analysis of the forces in the situation we are most likely to move effectively toward the desired results. The ineffectiveness of many of our attempts at change which may be due to the "shotgun" approach is removed.

MODIFYING THE FORCES

When we are ready to modify a particular force we may find it necessary, of course, to analyze that particular force in the same manner as has been done for the more general problem. If we wish to train ourselves in the skills of securing pupil participation in planning we may find some specific forces which are directly related to the training program. Some of these might be a general resistance to being in a "training" situation, confusions of philosophy, and time limitations. Analysis of these problems, in turn, becomes the step required.

Clearly this process of analysis in planning change is a continuous one. We are able to make from our first analysis intelligent judgments for taking action. This action leads to the change in the situation and a change to the new level of equilibrium calls for renewed analysis.

STABILIZING THE NEW CONDITION

Often, when changes in a situation have been achieved we "rest on our oars" and feel that the job has been completed. Later, upon examination, we may be surprised to find that the old situation has gradually returned and the changes need to be made all over again. *Whenever change is planned one must make sure that the new condition will be stable.* We need to develop in our analysis as clear a picture as possible of the forces which will exist when the new condition is achieved.

If we have secured a change by overcoming restraining forces, we can be assured that the new condition will continue. The restraining forces which have been overcome will not "push it back" to the old level. Such is not usually the case, however. More often the change has been made by overcoming some driving forces. In this instance there must be careful planning to make sure that the forces which support the new condition are stable, otherwise there will be a return to the old condition because of the opposing driving forces.

For example, we may become stimulated by a visiting teacher to try out some new methods. After she has left, however, we may run into difficulties, become discouraged, and return to our usual ways. If the change which has been initiated by this visiting teacher is to continue there will need to be some other force ready, when she leaves, to take the place of her stimulation.

SUMMARY

We have described in some detail a method of analyzing a situation or condition which we would like to see changed. Through the description of the

various factors affecting the situation in terms of the kinds of forces they represent we are able to get a clearer idea of the real condition and why it exists. This method of analysis also requires that we try to discover all the factors affecting a situation. To the degree that we have a sound analysis we can plan effectively in making changes which will be maintained. Our analysis helps us to determine what forces need to be changed if our condition is to improve.

The method which we have discussed here is a general method which can be applied to any problem of changing human behavior. It supplies a framework for problem solving. We have used a problem of classroom technique to illustrate our discussion, but the method can be equally well applied to problems of changing the curriculum, changing pupil behavior in the classroom, school-community relations, administrative problems, etc. Clear analysis of any problem is the first step in problem solving.

◆ ◆ ◆

SOCIAL ENGINEERING IN A SCHOOL SYSTEM

by **MAX R. GOODSON**

◆ ◆ ◆

In this article are stated four of the basic elements of social engineering and the meaning of these is made clear through episodes in a case study. The author is Assistant Dean, College of Education, Ohio State University.

The need for applying social engineering to the school system is found in the opening words of "Education For *All* American Youth." There it is stated that "Educational change is bound to come, and come swiftly. Only the nature and direction of change may be controlled."

With the fact of change thusly underscored, teachers and administrators of school systems in America face two main alternatives. Either the change will come opportunistically, through educational and socia drift or school changes will come by way of deliberate planning. The latter is the more promising alternative.

Planning is not new to school people. To some degree they are always making plans and carrying them into action. The procedures and the thoroughness of action by which the planning process is managed, however, frequently leave much to be desired. The purpose of this article is to explore social engineering as it may be applied to the school system.

SCHOOL PROGRAM ENGINEERING

Four elements are basic to social engineering as applied to the school system:

1 *A particular social causation is always the result of the simultaneous operation of several factors and is never the result of one factor.* The level of the educational opportunity offered children attending a given school is determined by several factors, some of which are: (a) the degree with which teachers are socially accepted by parents; (b) the salaries paid school personnel; (c) the professional preparation of teachers and administrators; (d) the procedures used in teaching children; (e) the extent of the opportunity of teachers to participate in making school policies.

At any given time these and other factors are in a state of *balance* that determines the level of educational opportunity children enjoy. Some factors may tend to elevate the level; but for the time their potential force may be offset by factors that tend to depress the level. For example, relatively high salaries may be offset by low teacher-group morale so that the level of educational opportunity is in effect held down. In changing the level of educational opportunity the depressing factors need to be decreased in force or the elevating ones need to be strengthened. For educational opportunity to be stabilized at a higher level, the depressing factors must be decreased permanently while presently elevating factors must be made lastingly greater.

Social engineering is based upon the foregoing kind of analysis which isolates the factors that determine the social phenomenon under study (educational opportunity in our example), estimates the size of the influence of the factors, and determines the directions (depressing or elevating) in which the several factors exert their respective influences.

2 *To induce the largest possible change in the factors which while in balance determine the level of a social phenomenon, actions must be directed simultaneously toward several factors.* No one factor in a school system is the key factor in the sense that once it is changed the system will be permanently im-

proved. Upon diagnosis it may be determined, however, that some factors at a particular time are of more importance than others and are the strategic factors. For instance, an improvement of classroom procedures and cooperation among faculty members may be more important than a cross-the-board increase in teachers' salaries, particularly if the salary level is already relatively high.

When an approach is made through the concurrent improvement of several factors, the possibility of permanent improvement is increased. Then a cumulative or "snow-balling" effect can be expected through interaction between the interrelated factors. Dealing with a single factor at a time is not likely to lead to a stabilized improvement, much less to an accumulation of desired changes.

A program of school improvement will therefore use the results of the analysis of situational factors in planning a set of actions, each of which is calculated to induce change in a particular factor. The actions need to be applied not in a seriatim fashion but as simultaneously as possible so that a maximum change will be realized in the school system as quickly as possible. Then change in one factor will influence change in other factors with additional change being induced in the first through its cause and effect relationship with the other factors, so that the total change shared between the factors will be increased as a result of simultaneously applied change procedures. Thus change will spread throughout the school system as a result of actions being applied at once to the strategic factors.

3 *A school system embodies a social reality of human relations that must be changed if educational improvement is to be accomplished.* What is real in a social sense, in contrast with a natural conception, is determined by the people who are held in an interdependent relationship with one another (as children, teachers, administrators, parents and other adults belong together in a school system.) What they know of one another, how they feel toward one another, and how one acts toward the other—all are facets of social reality which must be changed before a school system can undergo a significant change.

Under the heading of social knowledge there are facts about people, ideas and beliefs about people, and expectations concerning how people will behave and feel in certain situations. These are held by an individual or a group as regards other individuals or groups. Feelings embrace attractions and aversions of one group toward another, sentiments in regard to status differences, acceptance or rejection of particular values, and the reactions of people to approval or disapproval by others.

Social action has to do with the control an individual or group has over such factors as the communication of ideas and the accessibility of individuals and groups holding authority and power in the social hierarchy for purposes of consultation, and attempting persuasion (for instance, the accessibility of the superintendent to teachers who advocate a change in a school system). Until such factors are changed through improved human relations, a change in a school system is likely to be superficial and without lasting quality. Rightly used, social engineering will deal with such factors.

4 *An effective general plan for inducing changes is flexible and is carried into action through a series of recurring cycles of deciding, acting, fact-finding.* The initial situation in which social phenomena (such as the level of rapport between children and teachers, teachers and administrators, teachers and parents) are held in balance by factors operating in the situation must be diagnosed. A determination is made through aiding people to articulate their dissatisfactions with the present conditions, in perceiving discrepancies between practices and accepted values, to understand conflicts between groups (children and teachers, for example) and to identify gaps between aspirations and the means available for achieving goals. Such factors manifest themselves concretely only in a given school-community setting. They represent, therefore, the substance of problems that only persons who are directly involved can document, even though they may need help in using adequate procedures for making the documentation.

Upon the determination of the problems of a school system, a plan needs to be formulated for guiding actions that are calculated to bring changes in the strategic situational factors. The planning involves clarifying the particular social phenomenon in need of change (such as student-teacher rapport), determining the means available for influencing the factors that are now setting the present level of the phenomenon, and developing a strategy for the necessary actions.

It is important that this comprehensive process be unfolded step-wise in respect to each of the factors simultaneously attacked, so that one action is decided upon at a time, is carried out, and the results studied. The use of fact-finding procedures to study the results of a particular action leads to the need for a new decision. When the next decision for action is made, another cycle of acting and surveying of accomplishments is started. Social engineering requires, therefore, the continuous factual study of factors operating in a changing situation since fact-finding steers future deciding and acting. Without this steering mechanism to guide new decisions and actions, social engineering may degenerate into a stubborn and blind attempt to modify a situation with no success.

A CASE STUDY OF CHANGE

The four elements of social engineering are illustrated by a case study of change in a county school system. Five episodes briefly describe what happened over a period of two years.

1. Consultants from a state university were working with teachers, grouped by subject specialties, in a summer workshop. The county supervisor asked the consultants to help plan the opening professional meeting for the new school year. A small group of teachers was selected to participate in laying the plans. It was decided that the meeting should serve in sensitizing both teachers and principals to the need for improved human relations. A case in which the principal overruled a teacher in deciding on the dismissal of an older student from school was described.

The plan called for a panel discussion and the presentation of the handling of the dismissal case through social drama so that personal identities would be obscured. After thirty minutes of panel discussion on the importance and some techniques of human relations in the operation of a school, the case study was presented by role-players. They were first briefed before the audience as to the character of the teacher-principal relations, the way the teacher behaved and felt in the situation and the conduct and feelings of the principal.

After seeing the acting out of the situation, the audience was asked first to evaluate the human relations they had seen and secondly to suggest a different way in which the case of the student might have been handled. That discussion was terminated with the selection of new role-players who were briefed according to selected suggestions made by the audience. Then they acted out a different situation. This time a meeting of the teachers of the boy with the principal was seen and heard. The decision about the student was made by the group. This scene was discussed by the audience in reference to the human relations displayed, after which the significant differences between the two role-played situations were summarized.

In later "spot check" interviews several results were attributed by teachers to the meeting, among which were a general approval of the group decision procedure, a faculty committee on human relations in one school, and a more cordial teacher-principal relationship in another. A small start had been made in applying the human relations aspect of social engineering to the school system.

2. Early that school year, a system-wide curriculum committee of teachers and administrators from different schools, and consultants was organized to advise with the central office in regard to the summer workshop program and to give leadership in making curriculum study and change a year-round enterprise. Through a series of meetings, two important issues were formulated. Should a particular curriculum change have system wide adoption before it can be instituted by a faculty of a given school or should each school possess a relative autonomy in developing its own program? Must the curriculum be determined from the top down through state and university requirements determining the high school offerings and the high school faculty in turn dictating the elementary school program or are schools free to develop their own programs?

The discussion of these issues highlighted the relationship of the superintendent's office with the faculty. Teachers expected that the central office wanted complete uniformity between schools and a centrally controlled program that would not embarrass top authorities with state and university authorities. But the superintendent took the position that each school should be relatively autonomous. On the other issue he indicated his willingness to accept responsibility for faculty decided innovations and his confidence that he could obtain clearance from state and university authorities for specific changes in the program. Teachers had assumed stereotyped expectations of administration which in the meetings were disavowed verbally and later abandoned by them when administrative actions conformed with the verbal expressions.

The committee assumed leadership for preparing a plan whereby curriculum study and innovation would become a continuous enterprise for teachers. In meeting the problem of releasing more energy and time of teachers for such an enterprise, the committee proposed to the parents' association and the board of education that school be dismissed one-half day a month. The proposal was accepted and communicated to the teachers of the system.

Then the committee sent to the teachers through their building representatives a plan for a series of overlapping grade meetings within each school so that, for example, teachers of the first, second and third grades, and those teaching third, fourth and fifth would meet together in the respective combinations. Particularly in the departmental areas of the high school was this scheme strategic, since it would force teachers to break away from a straight subject-teaching and learning orientation. Under such an organization it became possible for teachers of different subjects to consider the whole program of a group of children for at least a three year period. It was expected that this proposal would not be received favorably by some teachers. A survey indicated this fact. But also the survey indicated that a substantial group of the teachers in each building saw enough merit in the plan that the committee decided to go ahead in organizing such curriculum study-action groups.

3. Teachers were asked to nominate leaders for these meetings. The central committee designated leaders form the suggestions received. Recorders were selected to keep discussion records for intergroup communication. Consultants from the university and from within the system were provided the groups. These service personnel were very briefly oriented to their team responsibilities and service functions by a consultant member of the committee. The parent association cooperated in designating representatives to the study-action groups. Also high school student councils were represented.

A sub-group of a junior high school faculty, serving a neighborhood populated from a particular cultural extraction, decided that the nutritional level of the children needed to be raised. Upon analysis the following factors were emphasized: (a) the low nutritional level is due to the children's lack of information about foods; (b) like the children, their parents know little about the relative nutritional values of foods; (c) children have not had sufficient experience with foods of high nutritional value in the school cafeteria; (d) the nutritionally superior foods are more expensive than the "bill of fare" of the home will permit.

The faculty decided to include more information about foods in science and home economics instruction and took steps to change the cafeteria offerings so that children could experience more nutritious foods. In addition, with the cooperation of parent leaders, the faculty organized a series of food discussions and demonstrations for the mothers. It was emphasized in these discussions that certain "food substitutes" of high nutritional value could be purchased for less money than the price of certain desirable foods ordinarily denied the family because of cost. At the end of three months from the start of this multiple program, a check was made as to the foods the children were selecting in the cafeteria. Also parents were interviewed as to changes in family "food habits." These studies yielded facts to support the hypothesis that a reasonable measure of change had taken place. The subcommittee then did some replanning of their foods program, making an effort to involve more parents.

4. Some of the study-action groups did not succeed as well as the committee had hoped. Other groups indicated the need for assistance in group leadership and development. The committee decided, therefore, in planning the next summer's workshop to provide a section that would serve to train teachers in group skills and understandings. Faculties were invited to select participants for this special opportunity. As a result, twenty teachers devoted three weeks to an intensive training with a university consultant as a leader, in analyzing and practicing group leadership, productivity, observation and feedback of data on atmosphere, leadership style, member participation, roles required and other elements of effective group functioning.

As a result of the increased availability of new skills and insights for the next year's curriculum development program, more concrete results were achieved. Some groups became more sensitive to their own development as a condition of the increased productivity of insights and skills among teachers that were necessary for the redesign and a different management of the instructional program.

As a result of one year of experience in overlapping-grades work groups, teachers in one high school requested a section of the summer workshop to be devoted to the solutions of problems in developing a common learnings curriculum. This was provided by the administration through the recommendation of the system-wide curriculum committee. This request was looked upon by the committee and the superintendent as an important achievement of the new organization of teachers for curriculum development.

5. Toward the end of the first year, representative teachers of a particular school called upon the superintendent to indicate that they were dissatisfied with the leadership of their principal. In consultation with the principal, some teachers and the university consultant, the superintendent decided that an impartial survey should be made of teacher morale. A surveyor interviewed all of the teachers with the result of the following findings: (a) decisions reached by the faculty in teachers' meetings are not always carried out by the administration; (b) the loads of the teachers are not well distributed; (c) when the principal does not know the answer to a question, he resorts either to evasion or a dominating attitude toward the person raising the question; (d) the principal is hypercritical and does not encourge teachers sufficiently in their efforts; (e) he has a tendency to talk down the teachers.

The same group, that had participated in the decision to make the survey, decided that some of these findings were due to misunderstandings by teachers and the principal of their respective functions and to misconceptions of what one ought to expect of the other. For example, the principal said that he did not give answers to questions frequently because he felt that they should be answered by teachers and that he referred questions back to teachers in an effort to be a democratic participant in decision making. The findings of the survey were reported to the teachers in a faculty meeting with the consultant acting as the leader. Several faculty meetings were devoted to a discussion of the problems of administrator-teacher cooperation with specific situations patterned on the

survey findings being role-played. A later series of interviews with teachers indicated that raising the problem to a higher level of visibility through open discussion and the role-playing sessions helped both the principal and teachers to "tailor make" specific and more satisfactory working relationships. As a result, the level of teacher morale was somewhat improved.

FUTURE OF SOCIAL ENGINEERING IN THE SYSTEM

By no means do these episodes illustrate a mature application of social engineering to a school system, but they do indicate clearly that three important aspects of social engineering were becoming institutionalized in the system: (a) the continuous retraining of school personnel through faculty meetings and workshops was established; (b) the place of group decision-making in the continuous planning of the program of the system was assured; (c) the school personnel had become more apt in using a cycle of making decisions, taking action and surveying the results for further planning, although still the teachers were very dependent upon the action-research competencies of consultants for social fact-finding. Much remained to be done, but in the two years a significant start had been made.

◆ ◆ ◆

DEMOCRATIC ETHICS IN SOCIAL ENGINEERING

by **KENNETH D. BENNE**

The term "engineering" when used in connection with social and educational change is often associated with the "manipulation" of people and is hence deemed to be a bad word. Nevertheless all persons engaged in educational work are trying to foster changes in the persons with whom they work. The ethical problem associated with social engineering is therefore not evaded by refusal to use the term. The author of this article faces the ethical issue necessarily involved in all deliberate social change and suggests norms which must be honored if educational and social engineering are to be democratic. The author is Professor of Education, University of Illinois.

◆ ◆ ◆

The central counsel of this number of *Progressive Education* to teachers and school adminstrators is that they come to see themselves as social engineers. This perception of their social role puts an important requirement upon educational leaders. They must take steps to equip themselves with appropriate social-psychological understandings and basic skills of working with persons, groups and organizations, in order to lead in planned changes of instructional and administrative patterns in the school and of school-community relationships. In brief, they must equip themselves as "change-agents", skilled in inducing, directing and stabilizing those changes in persons, groups and organizations which intelligent development of educational situations today requires.

THE ETHICAL PROBLEM RAISED

At this point, readers with strong democratic convictions may enter certain objections. What code of ethics is to guide those who thus equip themselves deliberately to engineer changes in other people and in the relationships between them? More particularly, can the values of democratic ethics be squared with such a role? Can deliberately planned social change, another name for social engineering, be reconciled with democratic values which proscribe the manipulation of persons by other persons, which elevate unique personal development as a primary end of education and of social life, and which put a premium upon self-direction as a criterion of personal maturity?

It is right that such questions should be asked and answered. It is important as we seek answers to these questions that we make one distinction very clear. What requirements are put upon current educational change and other social change, not primarily by ethical and ideological ideas and systems, but by the conditions of life in industrial society? If the demand for deliberately planned changes in human relationships and roles and for leaders trained to stimulate and direct such changes is rooted in the conditions of current industrial life, it is not the sane function of an ethics or ideology, democratic or otherwise, to op-

pose such changes. It is rather the function of believers in democratic values to translate those values in terms of effective controls of the processes through which planned social changes are engineered.

THE NECESSITY FOR SOCIAL CHANGE NOT ROOTED IN IDEOLOGY

It seems to the present writer that the last two sentences accurately describe the general situation in which democratic educators find themselves today and the general task which this situation sets for those who cherish democratic values. No detailed defense of the proposition that the need for deliberately and collectively planned social (and educational) change is rooted in the contemporary social situation and is not ideologically determined can be undertaken in this article. A few comments along two related lines may help to establish its plausibility.

First of all, the need for extensive and profound changes in human relationships and institutional patterns today stems from the misfit between traditional patterns of relationship and social control and the conditions of life and making a living which the advance of technology and the industrialization of our lives have thrust upon us. A familiar example will illustrate the meaning of this generalization.

The pre-industrial neighborhood, largely self-sufficient socially and economically, could give secure and largely unrecognized and unquestioned direction to the personal, moral and political development of human individuals. The neighborhood today is no longer economically self-sufficient. Tied with other neighborhoods into a larger web of economic interdependence, it is torn by stresses and strains in the wider economy. Differentiated into various organized interest groups, members of modern neighborhoods find that a "common" neighborhood point of view or interest, can no longer be assumed. Competing interests, articulate or inarticulate, are always present and sometimes flare into open conflict. The interests of many members of the modern local community, occupational, recreational, intellectual and otherwise, take these members psychologically as well as geographically out of the round of neighborhood life. It is simply no longer true that the neighborhood can play the central and unifying role which once it played in the lives of citizens, young and old. Without alternative social inventions to replace the old customary, unplanned community of neighborhood life and without educational leadership in developing and installing such inventions, this condition tends to breed insecure, restless, "lost" individuals. Now these are not democratic or "undemocratic" facts. They are social facts to which people, whatever their ideology, must adjust and, if they are to be intelligent, must take into their thinking and their decisions about social and educational problems.

It does not follow from this admission that ideological factors have no place in the determination of the ends or the means of social change. Within the limits set by the requirements of our cultural situation, ideological factors can operate to shape the direction of changes made and the processes through which change goals are set and achieved. It is precisely in shaping and directing processes of change that democratic ideology can become effective in conserving, revising and extending democratic values. An example may make this point clearer. Holders of democratic ideology rightly prize the principle of participation by all affected by the operation of a policy in its making and remaking. This prime value of democracy was once safeguarded by an emphasis upon local control of policies with respect to education, as well as health, police protection and other social services. Current demands for control of aspects of these services at state, regional, national and even international levels has not, for the most part, been motivated by anti-democratic sentiment. Rather, these demands have come as enlarging areas of interdependence have brought certain problems of health, education, police protection, etc. to a focus at area levels larger than the local community. To defend exclusive local control against such developments is to fight a losing battle. The democratic value of participation in the making of policies will not be effectively served through such a defensive approach to the problem. The democratic task is rather to invent and engineer ways in which effective participation can be accomplished in the processes of making and evaluating required policies at state, regional, national and international levels.

The same point may be put negatively. When democratic ideology is used to obscure current needs for change in social relationships and arrangements, to resist processes of change required by the cultural situation in which we find ourselves, neither the conservation, nor the revision, nor the extension of democratic values will be effectively promoted. Far from opposing the development of more effective ways of training people into the new relationships demanded by current change, educators of democratic convictions should equip themselves to lead in such engineering developments.

THE NECESSITY FOR PLANNING NOT ROOTED IN IDEOLOGY

In the second place, the requirement that social and educational change today should be *planned* change is also rooted in the conditions of industrial culture, not in ideology, democratic or otherwise. It is important that we recognize that a "new" type of conscious control entered modern life with the deliberate application of scientific principles to the production of goods and services and with the discovery (or invention) of methods of invention and discovery. In farming, for example, factors in growing

crops or animals which were once left to nature, to chance or to providence have been brought under human control in processes of scientific agriculture. Farmers conversant with developed agricultural technology no longer leave to chance or nature, the genetic combinations which occur in animal or plant breeding, or the building of a soil suitable to various crops, or the control of moisture needed by various crops. And what is increasingly true in scientific agriculture is even more strikingly apparent in industrial production. We literally build new materials to meet specifications required by our production plans, we invent machines to perform operations which no combination of "natural" animal or human skills could perform, we transform "natural" energy into new forms which fit more adequately our purposes and our plans. These facts are, of course, familiar to all of us. What is perhaps not so widely understood, is the meaning of these facts in terms of a *planned approach to the control of change.* All of these processes involve conscious formulation of goals and the marshalling of intelligence and knowledge to accomplish them. They are based on and involve centrally an experimental approach to confronting problems and the use of research and invention in the processes of their solution. However else these processes may be named, they may properly be called processes of planned change. They involve conscious choice and formulation of goals to be achieved, they put to work the resources of science and invention in the services of these goals, they bring under human control forces and facts which, in relatively static cultures with limited technological development, were left to custom, to nature, to chance or to providence.

The picture which our industrial culture now presents with respect to "planning" is a picture of segments in which planning is the accepted means of control, in which deliberate human intervention in reshaping "natural" controls and in forging new controls is accepted, and of other segments in which control is left to chance, to custom, to nature or to history.

Karl Mannheim has made a significant observation in this connection. "There is, however, a decisive law which rules us at the present moment. Unplanned spheres regulated by natural selection on the one hand and deliberately organized provinces on the other can exist side by side without friction *only as long as the unplanned spheres predominate.* The greater the area and time-span of the social processes working according to plan, the harder it is to fit them into an unregulated society. Wherever plans to create and maintain particular objects and particular institutions (a factory, a school, a political party), involve regulation of the contacts between these institutions and others, these plans cannot be arbitrarily stopped at random at any point along the line".[1] In our present situation, the planning of segments of our cultural life has advanced steadily. Those social processes related closely to the control of things, of physical energies and of our subhuman, biological environment, have been brought under more or less deliberate planned control. Those social processes more directly related to the control of human behavior, of man's beliefs and practices with respect to man, of man's inter-personal, inter-group and inter-institutional relationships, education for example, have tended to retain "natural (or historical) selection" as a means of control. Under the operation of Mannheim's "decisive law" the methodology of planned control must now be extended into these unplanned segments of our culture and into the control of over-all societal processes, if we are not to tear down the social and economic developments which have accompanied industrialization and revert to a non-industrial and a more or less static civilization.

It seems plausible, therefore, to agree that the necessity, for the extension of planning into the control of social and educational change has roots in the schizoid character of industrial cultures with respect to the basic means of controlling social changes, not in ideological factors as such. Democrats, aristocrats, or totalitarians who are seeking to control the processes of social change in industrial society effectively, in the images of varying conceptions of social welfare, must all accept the necessity for planned change. It does not follow that democratic goals and, even more fundamentally, democratic methods of planning will be equivalent to aristocratic or totalitarian goals and methods. In fact, here, rather than in the acceptance of the need for planned change, the principal differences will lie. The intelligible question for democratic educators today is not whether or not planned change should be more widely instituted in our society and in our schools and school systems, that is, whether or not to plan. It is rather what goals to seek in engineering changes and what methods of engineering to employ.

There is a closely related point concerning the relation of ethical norms to planned change which is frequently overlooked. Far from being opposed to the service of ethical norms, the deliberately planned control of social change is required to make optimum service to such norms possible. Where the equilibration and re-equilibration of human relationships is controlled by chance, by custom or by natural or historical selection, ethical norms of "right" human relationship are served only by chance, if at all. Our conceptions of human good are, where changes are so controlled, at the mercy of forces and factors which are not in general instigated by or devoted to such conceptions. Under such conditions change is amoral or immoral. Robust believers in any system of ethical

[1] *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction,* p. 155

conceptions must today demand that changes in social patterns be planned. For it is only in processes of effectively planned change that ethical conceptions can come to play any decisive part in determining the outcomes of change. Where conceptions of human good, alternative to democratic conceptions, operate in such planning, these alternative goods will of course be promoted. If democratic norms are to be served, people devoted to these must find ways of implementing them in the processes by which planned social changes are instituted and affected.

There seems to be good reason for locating in the disequilibrated conditions of industrial society the requiredness of current social and educational change and of a planned, an engineering, approach to its control. These requirements do not stem primarily from undemocratic or anti-democratic ideologies. This insight helps to clear away any assumption of necessary incompatibility between a democratic system of values on the one hand and processess of social engineering which employ methods of collectively planned change on the other. This way of looking at contemporary change seems also to imply that democratic ideology will find effective application in shaping contemporary culture only as it comes to operate in the processes by which planned social changes are formulated and effected and by which the necessary re-education of persons and groups to the behavior and relationships required by such planning is accomplished. *If this is accepted as a condition of effective service to democratic ideas and values at the present time, a translation of these values and ideas in terms of a methodology of social engineering would seem to be required.*

As this translation is attempted, it is important that the core convictions of democratic ideology be kept clearly in mind. In the first place, the unique person, because of his very uniqueness, represents an irreplaceable and incomparable center of choice, deliberation and valuation. Persons are, therefore, to be taken as ends in the sense that all the ways of a society, its institutions, its practices and its faiths, are to be judged ultimately by their services to the development of each member-person. In the second place, a social policy is held to be poorer than it need be if it does not represent an induction from the unique insights and experiences of every person concerned with that policy. On both these bases, the principle of participation by all persons affected by a social policy, as equals, in the processes by which such policy is formulated and reconstructed has been approved as a (if not the) central norm of democratic operation.

Now it requires no great logical leap from this latter principle to an assertion that the central meaning of "democracy", in operational terms, is to be found in a methodology by which the ways, the policies, the norms of an institution, the school for example, are to be reconstructed when its traditional ways have fallen into dispute, when the society is confronted by alternative and conflicting views as to the proper direction of social effort, when the institution faces, defines and moves to solve its confronting problems. The democratic norms acquire operational meaning when they are interpreted as requirements of a methodology for resolving social and interpersonal conficts in such a way that an adequate, mutually satisfactory, and socially wise resolution is effected. In a social setting where social conflicts tend to take a collective form, where change is inherent in the situation, where planning has become a social necessity, the norms of democracy will acquire directive power and clear meaning *only* as they are seen to be required elements in a methodology of planned social change, of social engineering.

THE ETHICAL PROBLEM RESTATED

We can now restate with greater precision the problem raised earlier concerning the ethical responsibilities of the educator as social engineer in terms of democratic values. There is no inherent contradiction between a democratic ideology and the training of persons and groups committed to and skilled in the stimulation and development of planned change in social patterns and in human relationships. In fact, the effective maintenance and extension of democratic values in industrial society seem to require the services of such practitioners. Educators or other change agents must, however, be trained in ways of stimulating and guiding change which incorporate the democratic norms as basic elements of their operating methodology. The valid test of the democratic character of any engineering operation lies in the degree to which the methodology employed in them conforms to these norms. *It follows also that the best guarantee of the ethical operation of social engineers is that their basic training be focused in a methodology of planned change which unites the norms of democratic operation, relevant understandings of change processes and social structures, and skills in stimulating, inducing and stabilizing changes in persons and groups.*

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AS METHODOLOGICAL NORMS

Five basic democratic norms can be identified. All may be thought of as derivations from the basic principle of democratic participation stated above and from the analysis of the requirements which the current cultural situation puts upon processes of change. In presenting each, some clarification of its general meaning will be attempted. Some delimitation of the kind of skills which translation of each norm into social practice requires will also be indicated. It is in these skill requirements that the necessary fusion

of social-psychological understandings with ethical norms of valid deliberation and decision is seen most clearly. It is not enough for an educational leader to accomplish this fusion in his own professional perspective. His training must also include development of skill in helping the persons, groups and organizations with whom he works to accomplish this fusion in planning and evaluating the changes for which they assume responsibility. Without such fusion, democratic values tend to remain verbalisms and skills for inducing change tend to be used without the direction and control which democratic values should provide.

Democratic Norm 1. *The engineering of change and the meeting of pressures on a group or organization toward change must be collaborative.* This norm prescribes two general kinds of collaboration. In the first place, it emphasizes the need for collaboration across lines of divergent action interests in a given situation requiring change. Individuals and groups must be helped to see that the task is to discover and construct a common interest out of the conflicting interests which they bring to the interpretation of the situation and to the direction of changes in it. This requires a confidence that the common interest to be built will be "better," will incorporate greater value for all concerned, than any partial interest initially brought to the deliberation concerning required changes. At the same time, the conflicting interests must be seen as the "raw materials" out of which the common interest is to be constructed.

The second kind of collaboration required is across lines of "theory" and "practice." A planned change in a school situation must be one which is based on the best available knowledge of relevant relationships and structures, of social forces and factors promoting and impeding various possible changes, of the consequences likely to result from alternative lines of action proposed and considered. This calls for knowledge from various social sciences. In addition, skills in creating those social-psychological conditions which will support a problem-solving approach in various phases of change must be available. It seems that planned educational change which is to be successful will require the collaboration of practitioners with social scientists and with engineering methodologists.

Neither of these modes of collaboration, between persons and groups with different interests in change and between "theorists" and "practitioners," comes "naturally" to people. "Departmental" barriers tend to divide various kinds of social scientists. "Institutional" barriers tend to divide scientists and action leaders. Yet both modes are required if change as planned is to be guided by the rational, informed consent of those concerned. The development of the skills of productive collaboration by practitioners, representatives of various "interests," and consulting social scientists sets a central goal for educational leadership which is devoted to the democratization of change processes.

Democratic Norm 2. *The engineering of change must be educational for the participants.* Training for planned change cannot put the importance of other goals to be achieved through collaboration above the importance of developing the unique abilities of each person in and through the social change effected. Every change operation must, in this sense, be conceived as an educational enterprise. This is not dictated alone by the democratic conviction that each person is to be treated as an end and that social arrangements are to be judged by their effects on persons influenced by them. It is dictated equally by the conviction that planning is most intelligent when it accomplishes a maximum induction from the unique contributions of all individual participants.

Individuals need to learn the skills of contribution to collective thinking if these effects are to be achieved. Groups need to learn the skills of eliciting effective individual contributions to group thinking from all members. And organizations need to develop an atmosphere which permits individuals and subgroups to mature and communicate effectively their unique contributions to organizational change and improvement.

It is important that this educational requirement of democratic engineering be interpreted dynamically instead of statically. It is not enough that persons grow in the skills, understandings and commitments appropriate to any given situation or to a plan for the effective management of that situation. The more basic educational needs to be served in processes of planning for change are needs for the habits and skills required for further growth. The social engineer, if he is working democratically, must leave the persons and groups with whom he works better equipped to solve the particular problem which he has helped them to solve. But he must also leave them better equipped to solve subsequent problems of change, including the management of personal adjustments which change in social arrangements always requires.

Democratic Norm 3. *The engineering of change must be experimental.* It has already been suggested that democratic ideology requires us to see all social arrangements as subject to modification and alteration when their effects upon the persons influenced by their operation can convincingly be called into question. This involves an "experimental" attitude toward *all* social arrangments. And *all* social arrangements include those formed and re-formed in processes of planning as well as those shaped and perpetuated by custom. Planned arrangements must be seen by those who make them as arrangements to be tested in use

and to be modified in terms of their human effects when tried.

Now, if the planning of changes is to be collaborative along the dimensions already suggested, this means that all who collaborate must be trained toward an experimental attitude and a "research" approach toward social problems. It is not enough if only the "experts" involved are experimental and research minded. Accurate determination of the human effects of institutional arrangements requires research. Collaboration in such research becomes a prime requisite for intelligent sensitivity toward changes required prior to planning. Such research is of equal importance in the evaluation of arrangements instituted by planning. That all educational practitioners, children and laymen participating in educational change become experimental in their attitude toward relationship problems faced and "research-minded" in their search for the evaluation of solutions sets an impressive task for social engineering. But our democratic norms require us to set no lesser goal.

Democratic Norm 4. The engineering of change must be task-oriented, that is, controlled by the requirements of the problem confronted and its effective solution, rather than oriented to the maintenance or extension of the prestige or power of those who originate contributions. In terms of social control, this means that democratic change must be anti-authoritarian. In methodological terms, this norm requires that contributions are to be judged by their relevance to the task or problem confronted, not by the prestige, position or power of those who originate them.

Persons adequate to implement this norm must be disciplined in recognizing continuously the social-psychological fact of emotional identification with ideas and proposals as both an asset and a liability. On the one hand, it is a source of effective motivation. On the other, it is a source of unintelligent resistance to counter-ideas of merit. Democratic persons must become skilled in inhibiting their tendencies to defend and promote ideas which are in need of objective evaluation and reformulation. It is important that persons achieve sensitivity in assessing the sources of influence upon themselves and to differentiate between dependence upon status figures and dependence upon fact-oriented and task-oriented influences.

Democratic groups need authority roles for effective coordination of their problem-solving activities. But groups need to learn to judge authority roles in terms of their contribution to such coordination and not in terms of the general prestige, respectability or status of certain members.

The task of training persons and groups to achieve effective communication across barriers of prestige and differential power is far from easy. This is nowhere more difficult than in educational change where the basic status differences between children and adults as well as the more usual status barriers between teachers (workers), supervisors and administrators must be taken into account. It is in creating conditions for releasing such productive communication that many of the most baffling social and psychological difficulties of training for democratic change are encountered. The task is complicated by a dogmatic attitude on the part of participants toward the viewpoints and ideas of their own groups. To the democratic planner "dogmas" are seen methodologically as "intellectual" attempts to save some privileged position from open collective criticism and modification. How to convert the perception of favored principles by those who hold them from dogmas to "hypotheses" remains a central problem for democratic social engineers.

Democratic Norm 5. The engineering of change must be anti-individualistic, yet provide for the establishment of appropriate areas of privacy and for the development of persons as creative units of influence in our society. The "collective" character of our more pressing problems of change has been suggested and the necessity for "collective" solutions affirmed. We have also seen the affirmation of the central importance of persons as basic to the democratic ideology. The fact that these two requirements are often seen as antitheses stems from a confusion of the ideology of liberal individualism with that of democracy. No complete clarification of the former ideology can be attempted here. A few remarks may help to justify the statement that a democratic methodology must be anti-individualistic. In the liberal revolt against social restraints upon economic enterprise imposed by medieval culture and later against "mercantilist" restraints, a rationale for individual rights was sought in a conception of the "natural" as over against the "social" grounding of such rights. Individuals, naturally equipped with mind and conscience independent of social experience, were set over against a contractual and artifical system of social relationships and conventions. What was in fact an alternative social ideal was thus projected into a theory of the nature of human nature. Scientific studies of human nature have indicated that this rationalization of liberal ideology involved a false psychology and anthropolgy. Individual personalities are now seen to be products of social experience. Individuation and socialization, far from being capable of intelligible opposition, are generally regarded as alternative aspects of the same process of growth into the ways of a social culture. The norms and standards by which a person thinks and judges are learned in the processes by which he is acculturated. Human rights and duties are ground in the institutions and ideologies of a culture, not in a nature independent of man's social relationships. If human rights are to

be guaranteed, they must be guaranteed by appropriate social, political, and economic controls of human behavior, not by opposition to these.

The value of creative individuality which the liberal ideology as well as democratic ideology emphasized is valid as a value. But the conservation and extension of this value cannot be affected by reliance upon a false psychology and anthropology. If the realization of this value is blocked by certain social arrangements, as undoubtedly it often is today, the task is to change these social arrangements. And such change today requires collective planning and action not reliance upon "providential" processes of natural or historical selection which have ceased to be providential under conditions of advancing industrialization or upon blind resistance to all collective action as inherently opposed to individuality.

Individualism today tends to threaten rather than to promote the values of individuality. We are brought back to processes of planned social change and to the formulation of an adequate methodology of social engineering as a necessary condition for the conservation and extension of democratic values.

The methodological correlate of individualism which democratic ideology leads us to oppose is the elevation of unchecked private, individual judgment as an ultimate arbiter in the control of human conduct. That a wise social policy will establish areas of privacy for persons and voluntary associations within the society is undoubtedly true. In such areas, private judgment may rule. But the determination of the proper boundaries of these areas must, in an interdependent society, be based on a collective judgment. The rights of private judgment can be defensibly defined and enforced on a democratic basis only by processes of collaborative planning. They cannot be guaranteed by dogmas concerning the nature of man.

The methodology of planned change which is consistent with democratic ideology must elevate informed and experimental collective judgment over unchecked private judgment. A methodology of training for participation in planned change must emphasize the development of skills necessary for creating common public judgments out of the disciplined conflict of "private" points of view. It must develop persons who see non-influenceability of private convictions in joint deliberations as a vice rather than a virtue. It is in this sense that democratic planning for change must be anti-individualistic.

It is equally important that groups and organizations be trained to develop standards of acceptance of individual differences and of expectation that out of such differences resources for group and institutional improvement can be developed. Groups and organizations should be helped to define and redefine those areas of life in which common values and standards are necessary and where efforts to build common out of contrasting beliefs and practices are required. In the same process, areas of life where divergence in standard and belief is not alone to be tolerated but encouraged and supported need to be well-defined. To stress the essential character of certain universals in group life is in no way to contradict the need for special and unique developments where threats to common welfare are not involved. The democratic social engineer seeks to establish and support this essential distinction in the groups or organizations with whom he works.

SUMMARY

An attempt has been made to show that there is no incompatibility between an engineering approach to the solution of educational and social problems and the ethics of democracy. On the contrary, it has been urged that the effective maintenance and extension of democratic values in industrial culture requires such an approach. The necessity for planned changes in human relationships and institutional patterns stems from the conditions of industrial life today. And planned change requires leadership by persons equipped with the understandings, skills and techniques of the social engineer. Social engineering will serve democratic aims and observe democratic scruples and standards only if it is guided by a methodology which incorporates basic democratic values as procedural norms. The first task of believers in democratic ethics is, therefore, the theoretical job of translating democratic values into methodological norms for the control of processes of planned change. The second task is the practical one of devising ways, in training teachers or others as social engineers, to develop the skills and techniques for effective stimulation and induction of change in persons and groups and the social-psychological knowledge required for accurate diagnosis of change-situations *in integral relation* to developing commitments to the norms of democratic methodology. Knowledge or skills or techniques divorced from the ethical and methodological controls of democracy may be used for promoting undemocratic or anti-democratic ends. We must find ways for teaching the techniques of social engineering not as isolated "bags of tricks" but as the "hands and feet" which the ethical and methodological "heart and head" of democratic action require in today's world.

◆ ◆ ◆

RESISTANCE TO CHANGE OF TEACHING METHODS

by **HERBERT A. THELEN**

Social changes whether they be in the community or in the school always encounter resistances. The problem of foreseeing, diagnosing, and treating these resistances is one which has received only scant attention in educational reconstruction. Partly as a result, some innovations have often been beaten down before they have been tried out while others have been tried out under the most unfavorable psychological circumstances. This article sets forth some of the points of resistance which may be encountered in changing classroom methods and suggests ways in which such resistances may be treated. The author is Associate Professor of Educational Psychology, University of Chicago.

In comparatively recent times we have come to realize that no amount of effort devoted solely to wiser and shrewder selection of information about our culture, will, by itself, result in any very significant improvement in the outcomes of our educational system. It is not what we know, but how we live, that matters. We don't form the habits of social responsibility, individual creativity, self reliance, acceptance of others, and critical thinking (for example) from listening to informed opinion or by reading pronouncements. We learn these habits only by practicing the skills involved in them. To learn and incorporate these skills into habitually effective operation requires opportunity and guidance. The school is designated by society as the institution most responsible for providing these opportunities; sophisticated and resolute teachers are the people expected to provide the guidance.

Our youngsters are the hope of the world only to the extent that they can succeed where their elders have failed. A school which perceives its job primarily as one of adjusting immature students to the present culture will teach its students to succeed and to fail at the same points and for the same reasons that their elders succeed and fail. To make a better world—perhaps even to preserve civilization at all—means that our boys and girls must, as adults, succeed where their elders failed.

The present efforts toward the solution of this problem stress such processes as democratization, socialization, teacher-pupil planning. As compared to the education of the past, the newer instructional procedures place emphasis upon greater assumption of responsibility and greater consciousness and insight with regard to social behavior on the part of the student; and less authoritarian and more clarifying behavior on the part of the teacher. It is not surprising that, under these more demanding conditions, neither pupil nor teacher fully knows what to expect and that each usually experiences difficulty in interpreting what he sees and feels. There is sure to be frustration from time to time and it is not at all unlikely that, for a period at least, this frustration will be accompanied by hostility. Doubt and conflict coming during the critical initial stages is particularly likely to discourage the teacher.

It is the contention of this paper that conflict and resistance to change are to be expected; that if there were no resistance, then one could be sure that there were no significant changes being brought about. We wish, then, to examine some of the kinds of resistance commonly observed, to interpret to some extent some meanings of these types of resistance, and to suggest or speculate about possible ways of meeting and channeling more effectively the energy which is going into frustration and conflict. Let us first see what the nature of the changes are that are so threatening to teachers and pupils.[1]

CHANGES THAT DISTURB TEACHERS AND PUPILS

1. *One of the first problems is that of bringing about a different type of communication pattern in the group.* This problem arises not only because any effort toward greater socialization certainly would mean more extensive participation and more kinds of participation by the students, but also because there needs to be assessment of how the students perceive the efforts of the teacher. One of the most common mistakes that the leader can make is to assume that he can continue to operate by making shrewd guesses as to what needs to be done and then going ahead and doing it. While it is true that making shrewd guesses is a necessary step, still there is another step which is equally necessary; that is, finding out what the facts in the situation are. Suppose for example that the group sits in bored silence. The teacher may assume that the class is simply making no effort and therefore may

[1]The following discussion of six problems stems from the work of Bales, modified by Couey, and printed in Thelen, H. A. "Engineering Research in Curriculum Building", *Journal of Educational Research*, April, 1948.

be inclined to rebuke the group; or she may assume that the class is simply confused and therefore will attempt to explain the problem all over again; or she may feel that the class is unwilling to cooperate with her—that is, she may take it personally and may feel hurt. It may be that the students simply do not know what is expected of them or what kind of behavior is relevant and appropriate; in this case they need help in clarifying their membership role in the class at this time. It may be that everybody can see what needs to be done and wants to do it but nobody knows how; this is commonly found when the group is trying to decide on a specific goal and has several alternatives in front of it. The skills required for getting consensus at this point are relatively sophisticated and frequently are not present in the group.

The point is that part of the new communication pattern must include means for getting the students' perceptions of their own methods of working together, of the problem, and of the teacher role. When the group sits seemingly in bored silence, for example, the first requirement for overcoming the apparent lack of participation is to find out why. And this means that there must be appropriate conditions for communication from students to the teacher about their own feelings and anxieties in the situation.

2. *A second kind of common problem springs from the fact that a new system of operation implies a new set of values and beliefs as to what is desirable.* This new set of beliefs is not new in the sense that it is totally original and created especially for the situation at hand. The new values for the most part already exist as alternatives in the back of our minds, i. e., we tend to be rather ambivalent about such conflicts as wishing to be dependent upon the leadership on the one hand and at the same time wanting to feel independent and adult. The present views of better methods of teaching almost always result in these usually suppressed conflicts coming to the front. Do we want a strong dominating leader or do we want a permissive *laissez faire* leader? Do we want someone to point directions and goals or do we want someone to conciliate differences in our feelings and arrive at consensus from the group? Are we going to agree that it is appropriate to examine fairly objectively the many factors that keep us from being able to work together or are we going to regard such examination as an inappropriate violation of the individual's personality privacy? How can we give students the chance to show initiative and creativity and at the same time not place them in the embarrassing position of competing for leadership with an authority figure? Must a group decision be one in which every member concurs enthusiastically, may it be a tentative agreement only, or may it be simply a majority decision? Is leadership a role vested in a single competent member of the group or is leadership a complex function which should be distributed widely throughout the group?[2]

There will be a time then, when these value conflicts are often overtly manifested in the group. It is an uncomfortable time and may be accompanied by hostility and other typical reactions to discomfort. The group is trying to find agreement in a set of beliefs to which all can subscribe. This agreement will be reached only through group effort continually to clarify how the role of member and leader are to be defined. The testimony of many teachers who have tried to install teacher-pupil planning for example, is that each effort in this direction progresses a little more smoothly and with a little less heat and friction. In the first efforts one might expect failure. The group must feel its way as it goes and only gradually can it institutionalize policies of operation which have the force of action commitments on the part of individuals.

3. *The third kind of problem hinges around the power relationships of the various individuals.* The whole problem of interdependence (which is commonly considered the basic criterion of a group) becomes extremely significant at this point. If my success or failure makes a difference to the feeling of success or failure on the part of others, then I am an influential person. If on the other hand my success or failure passes unnoticed and makes no difference, then I'm a person with very little influence. The only influence I can have under these conditions is that of coercion to my point of view as distinguished from social reinforcement of my ideas. The problem, then, has two aspects. First, the aspect of distributing power through giving everybody influence arising from interdependence so that the expectancy of the group makes each person put forth his best efforts. And second, the safeguarding of this condition of maximum influence for individuals by protecting the less assertive from the more dominant; actually this is simply a matter of safeguarding opportunities for all individuals rather than for just a few.

The teacher who first begins to try to use teacher-pupil planning is likely to want to be "democratic", that is, to make sure that all decisions arise from the group itself. She, therefore, is likely to almost withdraw from the situation in the sense that she will curb her own influence possibilities because in the past her observation has been that strong authority figures give students no chance to participate. What happens in the face of teacher withdrawal is that the situation is unstructured. It is difficult to get any sense of a real problem, there is no guidance in developing the procedure to be followed in finding a real problem, and there is frequently no comforting recognition by authority that the group's frustration is legitimate

[2]The preceding list of conflicts is taken from Thelen and Dickerman, "Stereotypes and the Growth of Groups", *Educational Leadership*, February, 1949.

and may serve a useful purpose. In other words, there is likely to be no real reason for interdependence and therefore no interdependence. If there is no interdependence then the students will not be any more powerful than before; in fact, their hands will be tied because there are no criteria for gaining approval or for judging success.

The problem then is not only one of curbing the monopolist, the agressive attacker, the clown, the fool, but also one of creating a sufficient group *raison d'etre* so that each pupil exercises, through contributing the power he is capable of.

4. *A fourth kind of problem in the change over to newer more responsible methods of learning, stems from the fact that such methods are more complex, more difficult.* There are problems of coordination that have not risen before. There are problems of differences in perception which in the past have always existed, but in the new methods become crucial to success or failure. There are problems of keeping on the beam, of being able to accept all kinds of contributions and turn them to account rather than simply rejecting all the contributions except those essentially similar to the teacher's own. There are then many new skills which must be developed and whose absence causes frustration. Such skills as conciliator, summarizer, integrater, critic, bright idea suggester, reality tester, etc., have to be striven for consciously and continuously. Moreover, they must be striven for with understanding. The "missing roles" cannot be identified unless one has some rationale of problem solving so that he has some idea what is necessary and required at a given point. This training need is a problem for the group as a whole and it can be met only on the basis of objective knowledge by the group of its own problems of operation. A common mistake in the use of an observer to help the group do this lies in the failure to understand that the objective is to develop skill rather than to give therapy. Pointing the finger at the clown may give the group an emotional release of tension through scape-goating and hostility but it makes little contribution to the real problem of the group which is to increase skill in developing an atmosphere beneficial for assimilating such characters.

One of the most common sources of frustration is the way in which the teacher interprets the notion of "getting suggestions from the group." Many teachers beginning to use teacher-pupil planning make a fetish of the idea that all suggestions must "come from the group members". They are likely to feel rather guilty and wonder whether their personality pattern indicates sadism when they find that they are sitting on the sidelines knowing perfectly well what could be suggested at this point and yet feeling that they must not give the group the benefit of this kind of suggestion. This is probably an unhealthy situation for the teacher, as well as a frustrating one for the group. On the other hand, if the teacher does tell the group, then she must do it in such a way that the pronouncement is not seen as authoritarian demand but rather as a democratic suggestion. The usual way of meeting this problem is to adopt the policy of presenting several alternatives rather than just one. This gives the group the necessary material to work with, but preserves for them the opportunity of kicking the ideas around themselves, and in this process of deciding what is appropriate.

The foregoing paragraph well illustrates the sort of trap into which we are continually falling at the present time. It assumes that a suggestion is a suggestion and that it must be identified either with the teacher or with the class. Actually feelings as well as words affect the group, and skillful clarification and even seemingly irrelevant give-and-take can frequently bring about a consensus which is truly a group product. The teacher is at a loss and must either be autocratic or sit on the sidelines as long as she is chiefly preoccupied with ideational content of the discussion. As soon as she gets away from quality control as her major job and begins to perceive her role as being that of group facilitator many of these problems disappear. She begins to try to penetrate beneath the words to the feeling which words are usually unable to convey adequately. She becomes concerned with the meaning of hesitation, of too much enthusiasm, of side remarks, of raised eyebrows. For, under the methods of teaching we are groping for, acceptance of responsibility means commitment to action, and this is not merely a matter of verbal agreement.

5. *A fifth problem lies in the definition of success and in the methods for distributing satisfactions.* Teachers at the present time are reacting against grades as the criterion of success and as a major source of satisfaction for classroom learning. The pressure of grades is rightly seen as too often an outside authoritarian pressure, a device for extrinsically motivating the group. The kind of satisfaction which is wanted is not reward by a capricious or powerful authority but rather self-reward in the feeling that I have done my job well. This feeling may be based on rational examination of performance in light of reasonable common sense goals or it can be an illusion caused by group eagerness to feel that time was not wasted. It is always possible for a group to agree that we may not have gotten a long way with our problem but we certainly have become an understanding, fine, pleasant group of people and the processes of working together have in themselves been valuable even though there are no particular achievements that can be pointed to as a result of this process. This stage is commonly known as the complacency stage. Fundamentally, whatever its legitimate psychological causes it would have to be viewed socially as an attempt to turn failure into success.

For all the members of the group to gain satisfaction, each member must see what his contribution should be, and must have means with the group for assessing whether his contribution comes up to these aspirations. The goals must not be set too high or no success is possible; on the other hand, they must not be set too low or there will be no sense of achievement. Moreover, the group must be able to understand that the goals for different individuals are different because of differences in capacity and interest and ability to communicate. There are many students who find it extremely difficult to verbalize in a group of other students yet these non-verbal people may have a very significant contribution to make in organizing material, in preparing necessary or useful charts, in finding facts, and even in talking to individual group members outside the group. Probably one of the most significant and common mistakes at this time is to assume that all of the progress of the group occurs within the group meetings. When these conditions are imposed, satisfaction will inevitably be limited to those verbally skilled people who have some aggressiveness and perhaps callousness. Interdependence in solving a problem does not mean that we are all together at all times during the solution of the problem. What it does mean is that we understand how each of us can contribute to each other and to the group; but the actual making of the contribution may be done in a shop, over a drawing board, at lunch, at a party or in interview.

6. *A sixth sort of problem which actually cuts across all of the preceding ones is the problem of finding stability of expectations and of procedure.* It is essentially the problem of habit formation at the group level and all groups, no matter how skilled the individuals may be, must deal with this institutionalization aspect, because the mores and contribution potentials of members in every group are to some degree different from those of every other group.

We come then, through working together and talking about our problems, to understand what we can expect from each person: What methods we will use in reaching decision; what sorts of criteria we shall use in judging our success; what sorts of problems we are going to work on and basically what roles each of us can play in the group. Each of these kinds of habits, or sets of skills, or structures of beliefs has to be hammered out by the group. And this is a process of making and assessing tentative choices in all of these areas. Success probably is dependent upon adequate experimentation and intelligent trial and error. We make the best judgments we can and perhaps we fail. If this failure is to be educational then we must try to understand why we fail and make new decisions about our policies for future operation. The requirement for these policies is that they be fully accepted and internalized by all members of the group. If the only requirement that a policy has to meet is that it be accepted by the group, then, it follows that changes in policy may be expected as reflections of the inevitable changes in feeling and insight of the group as it learns to work together. It is clear, then, that there is the possibility of over-institutionalization of policy, that is, of regarding as more permanent than it should be some policy (particularly one which has been formulated only after much effort). The object that should be institutionalized is not the policy itself but the methodology by which acceptance of proposed policy is gained. Our laws are continually in a state of change as a result of interpretation by the courts, but the system of review and modification in the light of changing conditions remains relatively constant through the years. It is ideas about characteristics of processes of decision-making, acceptance-getting, and assumption of responsibility which should be institutionalized; expectancies about the particular type of contribution to be anticipated from each member should not be institutionalized so rigidly; and the group's attitude toward other groups probably should be determined by a new assessment every time the question arises.

DEALING WITH RESISTANCES TO CHANGE

We have attempted to sample the kinds of problems the teacher and the class are likely to encounter during the effort to shift to a more democratic, more socialized, more cooperative sort of learning situation. We have pointed out some of the kinds of conditions which cause the group to be frustrated and threatened, and we stated the thesis that some frustration and threat is inevitable if any really significant changes are in process. We may assume that when the group is threatened it will put up resistance. This resistance is not necessarily aimed at the teacher—it is a resistance to change and it may result in action directed against the teacher to the extent that the teacher is seen as the causative agent and symbol of change. We have pointed out that overt conflict with the teacher is often a sign of internal conflict within the student. Because of the fact that the teacher is perceived as a person with great power in any classroom, the students will for the most part avoid open antagonism and defiance. Resistance will take many other forms and it is important that these forms be recognized for what they are, not because resistance is bad but because the appearance of resistance is one of the most useful kinds of evidence for assessing the state of affairs in the group and planning further strategy intelligently.

Because of the students' perception of the teacher's power, resistance may be expected to be expressed through behaviors which will be approved by the teacher or at least through behaviors which are not openly prohibited. In putting up resistance the stu-

dents very often get their cues from the teacher's own desires. Lets us turn to a consideration of some of the types of resistance.

1.*One common socially-acceptable type of resistance is to profess misunderstanding of goals or the feeling that the group has no goals.* If I don't want to do anything or feel unwilling to make the effort to assume any responsibility then I can always maintain that I don't understand what we're trying to get at or what the goals are. This procedure for resisting is usually handed to the class on a silver platter by the teacher. This state of affairs comes about through the common misinterpretation of scientific method to mean that one must first state his goals, second, find a procedure for attaining them, third, try out the procedure, fourth, evaluate the results and fifth, modify the procedure and goals. This statement of steps is merely one after-the-fact method of classifying the logic of problem solving; it by no means corresponds to the psychological realities of group thinking. The only goals that most students could reasonably be expected to verbalize at the beginning of a course is that they are here to learn social science or chemistry or what not. They hope to be treated in a friendly and reasonably adult way. At the beginning of the course they could hardly be expected to make choices among content goals; they can, however, be expected to have some feelings about what sorts of activities are meaningful to them. And as they experiment with such activities the kinds of outcomes those activities will support may become clearer and eventually be formlated in a set of goals.

A teacher who is overly concerned with the logic rather than the psychology of problem solving may expect to find throughout the entire year, complaints that the goals are not understood—even at times when most of the class is working quite effectively and with understanding.

2. *One of the most difficult resistances*[3] *for most teachers to deal with is seduction of the teacher.* It is obvious that the teacher knows what she wants and has ideas about how to get it. Then the more the responsibility we can get her to assume the less effort we need to put forth ourselves. And, therefore, the less changes in skill and knowledge we need to undergo. Therefore, let's invite her opinion and decision for us. It is easy for a teacher to gain the impression that students don't really want a democratic classroom because their continual efforts to make the teacher into an authority and a central dominant figure are readily apparent. The fact is correct but the interpretation may be grossly in error. The thing that has broken down here is not that students don't want to have the chance to be adult or that they are unwilling, on the whole, to work but rather that the roles of teacher and pupil have not been adequately clarified and accepted. Such role clarification cannot be made once and for all at the beginning of the term but rather must be gradually worked out through interpretations by the pupils and the teacher of what they are doing and why they are doing it during the entire year.

Teacher seduction may occur along many dimensions. It occurs whenever the group is successful in cajoling or flattering the teacher into assuming responsibilities that the group itself reasonably could assume in the situation. Evidences of it are such things as the teacher telling the class the facts instead of giving them the opportunity to learn how to use resource materials; conducting all discussions in the total class so that continual directions can be given rather than breaking the class up into small groups which have been well enough instructed that they can proceed independently of the teacher's continual influence; making decisions for the group instead of developing the decisions as a plausible interpretation of expressed feeling and insights of the group; and the like.

Occasionally, as Redl has observed with therapy groups, the teacher will be glamourized as a Christ-like loving figure. If the teacher can be made to see that the class feels this way about her, then she will find it very difficult to interpret the requirements of learning as hard work—it is difficult to be mean to people who love you. This type of glamourization is of course, like each of the other kinds of resistance, made possible or suggested to the group by the teacher's own behavior and in some cases enjoyment of authoritative power. The relevant behaviors in this case seem to be such things as making the group aware of how very hard I, the teacher, am trying to make this material pleasant, pointing out how easy it is to be misunderstood—hints about the unreasonableness of the administration help here—and continually rationalizing the need for learning in terms of such inspiring notions as a world united in love, every man a prince with a very high standard of living, etc. As with everything else, it is not the inspiration *per se* that does the trick, it is the teachers attitude, manner, and motivation in being inspiring.

One of the consequences of leader seduction, when successful, can be the discrediting of the teacher. If we can get the teacher to play the role of authority and do all the work then we have really done two things; first we have gotten out of doing the work ourselves and second, we have demonstrated to our own satisfaction that the teacher really doesn't mean what she says about democracy, interdependence among students in the group and development of individual contribution toward skills. The teacher therefore, is really just an old lying autocrat who has fallen in love with certain techniques of group manipulation

[3]The following types are organized loosely along the lines of Fritz Redl, "Resistance in Therapy Groups", *Human Relations*. Vol. I, No. 3.

—probably as a result of going to that workshop last summer— but who really doesn't mean what she says.

3. *A third type of resistance which in truth is much more prevalent under authoritarian systems than under democratic systems of teaching, is what Redl, in the case of the delinquent, calls "guilt escape through displaced conflict".* In a learning situation it might be referred to as non-transference of demonstrated attitudes. In the classroom we learn consideration for others' ideas, protection of the opportunity for unassertive people to make a contribution, the need for cooperation and the like. But as soon as we get into the halls we raise Ned, disturb other classes, destroy property and endanger the lives of unwary visitors; and in student council meetings we continue to mount the soap box and exploit the group for our own needs for attention and dominance. This seems to imply that in the classroom we bow to the pressures in the situations whether they be due to the teacher's love or due to his big stick. Transgression against the authority of the love or of the big stick results in either guilt or fear and both of these are painful. If one regards good behavior as an end in itself then these two forms of authority act to suppress undesired behavior; when these pressures are absent there is no inhibiting force and the undesired behavior may be engaged in. If the changes desired are thought of as understandings rather than overt behavior then the understandings in the authoritative situations are understandings about how to cope with authority—they are not the learnings the class is primarily set up to produce. In other words there is no transfer because there is nothing to transfer.

The fact that the teacher actually is the authority in the situation bears examination by the group. The fact that one has power is not necessarily a mandate to wield power. The fact that the students will think that any contribution is an effort at power-seeking rather than an effort to help students do things they want to do poses a problem of changing perceptions in the group. The teacher cannot act as a "regular" democratic group member until the group has learned to distinguish between her person as a symbol of authority on the one hand and her intentions as a democratic person on the other. Once this distinction has been made, a non-authoritarian problem-oriented type of democratic group interaction is possible. And until it has been made there is only suspicion and confusion. The transference of democratic membership operation to other situations can hardly be expected as long as the students feel that the teacher's power is due either to punishment or to love; it can be expected only when the students feel that the teacher's power springs from the same source as their own and is greater only because of a demonstrated ability to contribute more to the group.

4. *A fourth type of resistance is what we might call "abstractionism" or over-generality.* It is commonly observed both in the teacher and in the class because we are afraid of failure in action, and because taking responsibility for action will not, in our perception, lead to commensurate satisfactions. Then let us give the appearance of dealing with the problem without really doing so. The simplest means to this end is to discuss it at a high level of generality and in hypothetical terms. The missing psychological element here is any visualization or involvement of ourselves in the possibilities of doing anything. Moreover, there is a positive pleasure as well as pain avoidance involved because at an uninvolved level one may spin out pleasant fantasies of large undertakings and social influence. One can never in action do as much as he can in fantasy. There is a vast difference between the legitimate conceptualization of action which does involve some abstract theoretical elements and the fantasy escape from action. The first is a form of prerehearsal through which one identifies and applies in his mind the principles on which he may operate later. If the latter deals with principles, it deals with them only in a philosophical-wish sense rather than in an action-oriented sense. They therefore remain unconnected to action and the only contribution is to dialectical skill. (This of course is a desirable contribution but it should not be the sole contribution of the course.) And moreover, the skill may disappear when the need for its use to avoid pressure is absent.

The use of abstractionism by the teacher is often resistance to the hard work and the probable failure (through ineptitude) of effort to help the group define the course of action clearly enough that it can proceed on its own responsibility. If a class, for example, is to break into small committees to work independently of the teacher except for occasional conferences, then it must have a very deep clear-cut understanding of what it is trying to do, how it is going to do it, what the form of the report or communication to the total group will be, what the criteria for success are, etc. Many of these questions are things we usually work out through playing by ear, as distinguished from learning the notes. To some extent the notes can be learned as the group moves forward but at least the staff must be drawn first. We are most of us vaguely aware that the problem here is one of conceptualizing the limits within which the group is to operate. So much of the limit-setting customarily done in the classroom is done unconsciously by the teacher through her gestures and expressions of attitude that it is extremely difficult to go through the pain-taking analysis of what must be known and understood about a method of proceeding.

5. *A fifth kind of resistance expresses itself either as complacency or as scape-goating.* These conditions are often expressions of resistance to the type of necessary group self-examination necessary for asses-

sing what our training needs are and what we are ready for next. Complacency is the feeling that everything is fine as it is, why do anything different, and we all love each other. Any attempts at looking at ourselves objectively imply that some other state of affairs might actually be the case and the person who initiates such self evaluation is a Cassandra as well as a traitor. Scape-goating, on the other hand, is good strategy because by drawing the fire to someone else one is less likely to be riddled by bullets and second because the scape-goat will conveniently carry off the load of hostility and guilt engendered by our own difficulties in getting anywhere.

In general it is probably safe to say that what we are trying to get in the group is problem-oriented, sober differentiated behavior of individuals working in cooperation toward a common goal. Any other kinds of behavior such as those listed above probably imply resistance to one or more of the complete array of jobs that have to be done for the group to work together successfully for the facilitation of individual learning. There is no point in trying to avoid the manifestation of resistance because, first, in any situation aimed at bringing about changes, resistance is inevitable; and second, because the appearance of resistance provides real diagnostic evidence needed for identifying the problems most appropriate and necessary for the group to solve at a given moment. Resistance, therefore, should be accepted and interpreted by the group. Decision and action following such reflection should lead not to the overcoming of resistance but to the removal of the need for resistance more effectively at the various times when resistance appears.[4]

[4]An article such as this presents ideas from many sources. I am indebted to Lippitt, French, Zander, Benne, Bradford and many others

◆ ◆ ◆

INVOLVING PARENTS IN SCHOOL PROBLEMS

by **LELAND P. BRADFORD**

The resistance of parents to educational change is one of the sources of a number of powerful and persistent social forces which teachers and administrators must take into account in the development of a program of educational improvement. The problem of involving parents constructively in educational developments is therefore an important one. This article is based upon an analysis of a hypothetical illustrative case and the reader will find it fraught with ideas and procedures. The author is Director, Division of Adult Education Services, NEA.

◆ ◆ ◆

It has become trite to say that living is changing. Yet, as individuals or groups, we meet most social situations requiring change with unthinking resistance or unplanned and unintelligent action. While we have come to use scientific problem solving and planning in relation to change of our physical environment, we meet most of our human relation problems with scientifically untested rule-of-thumb methods for determining change. Anyone giving even cursory attention to the present national and international scene is impressed and saddened by the speed with which we regress, under modern stress, to primitive levels of social behavior to prejudice, hysteria, irrational thinking, scape-goating, red-baiting, witch-hunting, guile, fighting—even potential global suicide. Anyone studying the community scene is struck by the extent of inter-group tension, lack of communication among individuals and groups, and organizational competition. Even groups and committees, faced with difficult problem solving situations, too frequently try to reach solutions by name-calling, argumentation, power domination, or trickery. Our ineptness in meeting our human relations problems, whether as individuals or as groups, is the more dangerous because of our skill in other areas of problem solving. Until we face our social problems with the same scientific efforts we now give to our physical environment, we will continue to use appallingly primitive skills in human relations.

NEED FOR A RATIONALE OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

At this point, it may be helpful to look at a few of the more obvious aspects of our ineptitude:

(1) Our most frequent approach to social problem situations is to rush as rapidly as possible to accept and defend one of the proposed solutions. Anyone who does not "take a stand" on a social problem is deemed cowardly or indifferent.

"Taking a stand" is usually defined as adhering to an answer. Thus the evils of partisanship are met by the evils of partisanship, and the different "answer" groups prepare for battle. We fail to realize that the major position on which to "take a stand" in social situations is the insistence on the use, by all concerned, of the basic principles and methods of democratic problem solving. Partisanship should be in terms of fighting against all non-democratic methods of problem solving.

(2) We have not yet developed for general use a conceptual base for a systematic analysis of the forces operating in the social problem to be solved. Typically we react to the one or two forces, in the total set of forces affecting any social situation at a given period of time, that has served as a final stimulus. Thus, we solve only a part of a problem or come out with an inadequate and distorted solution.

(3) Ideologically we too frequently approach social problem solving or change with the effort to "change" others rather than with the attempt to involve others in the total process of problem solving leading toward bringing about desirable change. Efforts to "change" others usually result in hidden motives, guile, argumentation, concealed facts, force—all of the methods most antithetical to democratic problem solving. From this ideological position efforts to bring about change in a social situation call for the skills of manipulation in human relations—not the skills of democratic social planning and engineering. Unfortunately, and this is too infrequently realized, change resulting from manipulation has little guarantee of being maintained. If the human pawns can be manipulated in one direction, they can be manipulated in the opposite direction. Only when those concerned with the change are involved rationally in planning all steps in the change, is there much assurance that the change will be maintained as long as desirable.

As the above points indicate, democratic social engineering requires an acceptance of the need and possibility of using scientific methodology in social problem solving situations; the development of an adequate conceptual base looking toward the production of instruments for data collecting and assessment; and the evolution of an ideological base to ensure the wise democratic use of such scientific instruments and skills. Other articles in this issue, notably the one by Kenneth Benne, go more deeply into the ideological basis for democratic action and the methods of problem analysis.

AN ILLUSTRATIVE CASE

The following hypothetical case study attempts to illustrate beginning efforts by a group to meet the above three points. It is the kind of situation that could develop in many communities. Parts of it have happened in a number of places. The place, "Our Community" is a large and sprawling suburb on the outskirts of a big city. "Our Community" has long enjoyed a fine reputation in many parts of the country for a moderately progressive educational system. It has safely and rather carefully put tested new developments in educational method and curriculum into practice. The superintendent of schools in "Our Community" has been responsible for many of the developments in our schools and he has enjoyed a good reputation among educators. He has brought together a well-balanced staff of excellent educators that has been playing an increasingly active part in the educational decisions in "Our Community".

Some weeks ago, the people in "Our Community" were startled by articles that blazoned across the pages of the metropolitan dailies of our neighboring big city. These articles carried the story of the formation of a group called "The Parents' League for School Improvement", headed by Mr. Green, a minor business man who had long been active in many community affairs. Another leader of the group was Dr. Brown, a dentist of many years' standing. The newspaper reports said that the purpose of this newly formed League was to bring sanity back to our public schools and to end the new-fangled confusion that was leaving children essentially uneducated and ill-prepared to take their places as solid community citizens. The League recommended that:

1. More stress be laid on the fundamentals of education—reading, writing, and arithmetic;
2. These courses be taught as specific subjects and not mixed up in a so-called integrated program with other subjects;
3. Unimportant subjects, such as art and music, be relegated to their proper minor position in the school;
4. A greater stress on civics be given in all schools;
5. A standard course in patriotism be taught in all schools.

The articles went on to say that large mass meetings would be held of all citizens, and these articles left the impression that as a result indignant citizens would demand, and get, necessary reform in the school system.

An objective analysis of the total situation would have uncovered certain major forces or causes. Only a thorough assessment of the total situation would give a picture of all of the more hidden forces rooted in the total community situation with its tensions and blocks in communication, and in the personalities of certain leading figures in the situation. Among the more obvious forces, however, would be the following:

1. Undoubtedly the school had coasted lately in its relationship to parents. Because it was largely an upper middle-class community with intelligent and well-educated parents, the school had gradually assumed that the parent groups would understand and be behind any moves made by the school. The interest of the PTA group in the school, which was unusally high, helped the superintendent and his staff to assume that relations with all parents and community groups were excellent.
2. While the PTA groups carried on many excellent discussions for parents and felt free to talk to the superintendent, assistant superintendent, principals and the teachers, at any time, and while the PTA's were deeply involved in the schools and felt ready to defend them, there was some feeling among PTA officials that the school system kept them on the periphery of the school activities. The parents felt the school thought the parents' job was that of learning and understanding, either through parents discussion groups or through statements or speeches by school personnel, rather than cooperative planning with the professional school people on almost all aspects of the educational development of the schools. Consequently, there was some aggression by the PTA itself toward the school system.
3. While all parents were invited to the PTA's and urged to attend, and while attendance at the PTA meetings was certainly far higher than any national average, there still was something of an inner core group within the PTA that tended to perpetuate itself over the years.
4 While the community was relatively homogeneous, being composed as it was of upper middle and middle-class persons, whose vocational life was spent in the nearby big city, there was a group of business and professional persons serving in the community. They felt their status was not quite as high, in many instances, as that of those employed in business and professional situations in the big city.
5. As would be expected in any community, there was a small taxpayer group that tended to fight any progress on the basis of increase to taxes.
6. The trend of the times, nationally and internationally, was conducive to arousing fear of any liberal program. This atmospheric factor undoubtedly encouraged the other forces to become effective in precipitating the formation of the Parents' League.
7. The personality structure of both Mr. Green and Dr. Brown were undoubtedly factors in the situation.

As the superintendent and the staff examined the situation, many of the above points became clear to them. Their real failure to assess the situation came in a lack of awareness of their tendency to keep the parent groups dealing with peripheral problems. However, the superintendent and his staff realized the need to turn toward the PTA's in the situation that had arisen.

Discussions by some members of the Executive Committee of the PTA Council brought not so much an analysis of all the factors in the situation, but a desire to resist the attack upon the schools, to strike back at the new movement and to defeat this rival parent group.

The superintendent of schools, shortly after the newspaper item appeared, talked to Mr. Smith, the President of the PTA Council, about the situation. He asked Mr. Smith to help in meeting the situation and to have his Executive Committee make recommendations to the superintendent as to what should be done. Mr. Smith immediately called the members of the Executive Committee by telephone to arrange a meeting as soon as possible. One or two of the members of his Committee suggested that Professor Anderson, from a nearby university, who had helped the PTA's in training leaders and thinking through their organizational problems, be asked to sit in on the Executive Committee meeting as a consultant. Mr. Smith readily agreed and immediately invited Professor Anderson to attend.

The Executive Committee met with Professor Anderson sitting in. At first, the discussion took the natural form of statements of aggression and distrust toward the new Parents' League. Gradually the group saw, however, that the Parents' League for School Improvement had stirred up a stituation which could not be and should not be squelched, but should be used for the involvement of all parents to a far greater extent in the educational program of their children and themselves. They saw also that it was not a matter either of striking back at the other group, nor yet a matter of white-washing the school program. This group realized the schools and themselves as a PTA had been at fault in many ways. Chief among their errors were: (1) There had been really no parent involvement in deciding and re-deciding the purposes of education or in adequately informing parents of the technical methods experimentally most successful. (2) There had not been enough real thinking by educators as to the responsibility and place of parents in decisions concerning the education of their children and, consequently, the curriculum of the schools. (3) No efforts had been made to continually inform parents of curriculum experimentation and of the results of this experimentation. (4) No joint pattern of continual evaluation had been worked out by parents and teachers to judge periodically the success of the educational program.

From this listing of points the Executive Committee began to uncover certain problems that must be answered. These were:

1. How could they involve more parents and the school system in a program of study and decision-making concerning the educational program of the children of the community.

2. How could this program of analysis and study be carried on with the use of best methods of group study and decision-making.

3. How could this whole program be made dramatic enough to counteract the emotionalism, propaganda and appeal to hidden prejudices and insecurities that were being carried on by the Parents' League. The Committee realized that it must be vivid and dramatic without using the evils of emotional and biased thinking. It was fundamentally a question of dramatizing democratic action.

With these questions in mind the Committee then moved to an agreement that they ought to come out with a statement of their beliefs, to stand against the beliefs of the Parents' League. Professor Anderson suggested that, while this was all right in principle, this would merely put one pre-determined decision up against another pre-determined decision and that the result would be a more and more bitter, personal, and certainly emotional battle between two opposite points of view. Wouldn't it be better, Professor Anderson wondered, if the PTA came out with a very definite platform of beliefs, not in what the curriculum would be, but in how democratically the curriculum should be continuously planned and replanned cooperatively by citizen groups and professional educators. Literally, he pointed out, the PTA would be putting their stake on a platform of democratic discussion by all parents and educators concerning the crucial problems facing the schools.

The Committe considered and ultimately enthusiastically accepted their proposal. They began to develop such a platform. After careful consideration and much writing and rewriting on a blackboard, the following five-point platform was tentatively accepted as a recommendation to the PTA Council:

1. Any approach should involve as many people as possible. The more widespread the participation in discussions and conclusions, the greater the number of points of view which will be expressed, and the greater the value of the conclusions to the community as a whole. Greater participation lessens the likelihood of any conclusions reached being those of a minority. All people who are sincerely interested in the schools should be invited to take part.

2. There should be free discussion. All points of view should be expressed, all facts brought to light before conclusions are reached. All individuals should express themselves.

3. Sound decisions can only be arrived at after a reasoned and intelligent analysis of the facts. Evidence on all sides should be gathered and analyzed. Decisions should be avoided which are based on emotional or prejudiced thinking.

4. The process of evaluation of their schools by an informed public should be a continuing one. Any progress which is developed should be one that may be continued and improved as a means of cooperation between parents and educators.

5. Any program which is undertaken should be a constructive one. If criticisms are to be brought to light and studied it should be with the purpose of improving the institution which is under study. The aim of the program should be school improvement.

Professor Anderson helped the group to clarify the responsibilities of both educators and lay citizens in cooperative planning of school programs. Citizen groups could and should be expected to give careful thought both to the purposes of education in our society and to the evaluation of educational results in terms of these purposes. Educators could and should certainly contribute to both consideration of purposes and of evaluation in terms of societal results, but the most specific contribution of educators was in the area of the educational process most effective in terms of purposes. As Professor Anderson indicated, confusion on this point constitutes one of the major problems in lay-professional educational relationships. Parent groups too frequently attack educational methodology, concerning which they have no professional training, and fail to consider the basic purposes of education in our society. Educators, on the other hand, too frequently are fearful of thinking about fundamental purposes of education and so, by concerning themselves only with pedagogy as most narrowly defined, become technicians and not educators. Professor Anderson helped the group to come to the realization that the fundamental premise of American education—lay-professional collaboration in educational planning—was frequently badly met because of the confusion just discussed. The Committee saw that the explosion touched off by the Parents' League might well help both lay citizens and educators work out ways of more effective collaboration.

After all this the Committee tended to sit back with the feeling of accomplishment, but Professor Anderson pointed out that really they had achieved merely a set of beliefs as to how people should work. The situation, however, called for not only such a platform of methodological beliefs, but also a definite program of action based on this platform.

The Committee began then to discuss things that could be done. After much group thinking, a rude structure began to develop:

1. The PTA Council would seek wide publicity from newspapers and radio on the proposed statement of beliefs in how to work democratically on school problems and on the action program growing out of this platform.

2. Radio time would be requested (and there was evidence it would be given) for a weekly broadcast. This program, of a half-hour or hour in length, would be a series of discussion groups or round tables in which representative adults discussed with educators, economists, psychologists, sociologists, political scientists the major purposes of education in our society and what these purposes required of the schools.

3. Each local PTA Chapter would be asked to organize a local discussion group for all adults, whether or not in the PTA, to discuss further the problems and the implications from the radio broadcasts.

4. The PTA Council of the city would establish a professional panel of consultants on all phases of public education to meet with local groups, when requested, to give help on unsolved problems.

5. The results of the thinking of the local discussion groups would be reported back to the central PTA Council. Periodically a small portion of the radio time each week would be devoted to a summary of these reports.

6. The reports from each group would be kept by the central PTA Council. At the end of two months, the Council would synthesize these reports into one publication which could be made public and could be given to the Board of Education for their further thinking.

As the Committee looked back on the plan it had developed, it became impressed with the need to work out ways of bringing this program into being. Consequently, the Committee began further intensive discussion. Following are the points of implementation that the Committee, with Professor Anderson's assistance, ultimately produced:

(1) Discussion groups in which local PTA should be served by four persons.

a. *Chairman* - Responsible for organizing the group, fixing time and place of meeting, etc.

b. *Leader* - Leads discussion at meetings.

c. *Secretary* - Records salient points of discussion and conclusions reached. These notes will be used by the radio committee and in any other way which seems constructive.

d. *Community Interviewers* (number dependent upon size of school area) - Each interviewer interviews 10 representative families in the area for the purpose of:

a. Urging them to attend discussion groups.
b. Urging them to listen to the radio forum.
c. Ascertaining their feelings concerning educational problems.

(2) Volunteers would be asked to serve in these capacities. Efforts would be made to secure others as well as PTA members for these jobs.

(3) A brief, but intensive, training program would be carried on to help the various service members carry out their responsibilities. Professor Anderson was willing to help in the training of leaders and the committee felt confident that assistance in training interviewers could be secured.

(4) The training of interviewers was seen as a special training and organizing problem. In a later meeting the following step-by-step program for training and coordinating interviewers was developed.

a. Determine categories of information to be secured from interviewers.

b. Determine action steps desirable for interviewers to take.

(1) Attend discussion meetings.

(2) Promise to listen to radio and return evaluation form on their reaction to the broadcast.

(3) Listen to radio.

c. Work out, with consultant help, interviewing schedule, using as much as possible open-ended interviewing techniques.

d. Mimeographing these schedules in necessary quantities.

e. Produce and mimeograph interview summary sheet to be returned to Central Committee.

f. Work out, with consultant help, evaluation form to send in to Central Council on reaction to broadcasts.

g. Plan training of trainers of interviewers. This can probably be done by getting the persons to act as trainers in terms of two trainers each. The training of trainers of interviewers should be planned for a 3-hour session. It would follow some such plan as this:

(4) Orientation to the purpose of interviewing. This orientation may cover such points as:

(a) Need to involve all people in discussion.

(b) Remove fear that discussion groups are not for them.

(c) Remove fear that their ideas are not wanted.

(d) Increase feeling of responsibility in planning of children's education.

(e) Enlarges personal acquaintances.

(f) Personal introduction to discussion group.

(5) Training in content sensitivity. This really means training the interviewers in what key statements to look for as the interviewee talks in each category, and also shortened ways of getting this done.

(6) Better human relation methods in interviewing. This would cover ways of getting involvement of the interviewee, reassuring interviewee, getting permissiveness, etc.

h. Organize times for your teams to meet with volunteer interviewers.

This total plan was reviewed with care by the Executive Committee. After that it was submitted to the Central Council composed of representatives of all the PTA groups in the community. The Council made further modifications in the proposed plan. After this the plan was given as wide publicity as the Council could secure, and achieved a considerable amount of interest in "Our Community". In the beginning, many felt that this was a more stodgy way of approaching the problem, and perhaps a way of white-washing the schools. Certainly the Parents' League tended to give this impression. The PTA went ahead, and because of the systematic approach this impression quietly disappeared.

An evaluation of the program after a number of months showed the following state of affairs:

1. The Parents' League proved to be a flash in the pan. After two or three public meetings in which audiences were harangued, attendance fell off and the League very quietly died.

2. The radio broadcasts, of all the programs of the PTA, achieved the greatest success. Eight Broadcasts, one each week, were held and the programs were well listened to as far as sampling through the PTA Chapters indicated and as far as community interest in general evidenced.

3. The discussion groups were sporadically sucessful. In those PTA Chapters where discussion groups had previously been most successful, the greatest interest in the present program had been shown.

4. There was evidence of a closer relationship between the PTA's and the schools. The issue had shown the schools the importance and strength potentially present in a good PTA program.

The Executive Committee of the Council held an evaluation meeting concerning the results of the program. They saw that they had probably over-estimated the possible strength of the Parents' League. On the other hand, they felt that if the PTA had not made an immediate move such as they did, conceivably the Parents' League could have grown much larger. They felt that the previous good work of the PTA had also proven of major value in preventing any community upset over the problem.

They felt that the efforts to push lay groups toward a deep discussion of the purposes of education was to push into too difficult a level of discussion—certainly without more previous experience of such discussion. Much of the sporadic turnout for the discussion groups resulted from what must have appeared to be only theoretical discussion. Again, the time pressure militated against lay and serious thinking.

On the other side of the ledger was the very definite growth in understanding upon the part of many members of the Executive Committee, the Council and of those who worked in the local Chapters. All had certainly learned better ways of approaching social problems in a democratic way. The increase in understanding between the school administration and the PTA was a major outcome of the program. Evidence from many of the local PTA Chapters showed definite results in increased interest in PTA activities. Finally, the Executive Committee saw the importance of approaching all of the problems within its own organization and in its relations to the schools and community in as objective and scientific way as possible. Consequently, they discussed very carefully ways in which a study of PTA activities could be made in the light of this approach. A working committee was established to work with Professor Anderson and other consultants to explore this possibility and to look toward a much improved PTA program for "Our Community".

◆ ◆ ◆

SOCIAL ENGINEERING: SELECTED REFERENCES

by **JOHN WITHALL**

A rich literature on social and educational engineering is developing rapidly. A review of some of the more significant references is presented in this article. The interested reader will find these references both stimulating and rewarding. The author is Supervisor of the Records Office, Laboratory School, Department of Education, University of Chicago.

A few days ago I brought to the attention of a worker in economics an article which contained the words "social engineering" in its title. He glanced at the title and commented: "I react to those words and immediately feel unreceptive to the material in the paper." Such was the reaction of an alleged social scientist. We can understand that there might be lack of comprehension of and feeling for each others' fields between physical scientists and social scientists but it is somewhat startling to encounter the same misapprehension between social scientists. Perhaps, however, by means of processes dubbed "social engineering" we can achieve a more adequate level of communication between individuals and groups of differing experiential backgrounds, so that they may wrestle more effectively as individuals and teams with the problems of society that confront them.

The broad question regarding the problems of planning research whose findings can be applied to practical problems has been dealt with recently by Donald G. Marquis in *The American Psychologist*[1] and by Claire Sellitz and Stuart W. Cook in the *American Sociological Review*[2] Both papers seem to emphasize a type of research that calls for cooperation among and competencies of workers of the several disciplines along with collaboration with workers in the practical field situations.

Marquis poses this question: How can we ensure more rapid utilization of the discoveries of social scientists for solving current social problems. His answer is by "research planning". He amplifies this answer by describing the kind of research planning which, in his opinion, most fully meets the requirements of the situation, i. e., program design research. Such research encompasses the recognized steps of scientific methodology and measures up to these criteria: 1. it is conducted on a relatively large scale; 2. it is planned by a group of researchers; 3. it involves workers from several disciplines; 4. it comprises schedules of several phases of development; and 5. it makes provision for training young scientists.

Sellitz and Cook point out that social science has to develop a body of general principles regarding human behavior, methods of implementing these principles and means of communicating the findings of basic research to practitioners. The kind of research, in their opinion, that embodies the criteria of being both socially useful and scientifically meaningful is research that is a) focused on the process of change, b) carried on in collaboration with agencies in the field and c) part of a coordinated research plan.

What of the theory of social engineering? Have we statements of some of the concepts and principles controlling the process of social change? Herbert A. Thelen in the *Journal of Educational Research*[3] identifies three characteristics of social engineering and cites the criteria (after Bales) of a "true" group. He points out that groups can be divided, according to Jennings, into two types, socio-groups and psyche-groups. The former are groups which meet around an identified, objective problem; the latter are psychological siblings, so to speak, who gravitate toward each other on the basis of common values and mores. The desideratum for any group, the author suggests, is for it to encompass the major characteristics of both the socio and the psyche-group in order to facilitate group growth, cohesiveness and productivity. Achieving this stage of group maturity requires the services of a change-agent. To exemplify the role of the change-agent the author describes some of the responsibilities and functions of the individuals who are faced with the task of bringing about curriculum changes in an educational institution.

Kurt Lewin, in the first of two articles that appeared in *Human Relations*[4] states his rationale for social engineering. Social events, he avers, are symptomatic of underlying "forces" which represent the dynamic elements in a situation. Resistance, stability or change in groups should be viewed as the resultant of forces toward and against change. Where a state of

1. Marquis, Donald G., "Research Planning at the Frontiers of Science", *The American Psychologist*, October, 1948, Vol. 3, No. 10. 430-438
2. Sellitz, Claire and Cook, Stuart W., "Can Research in Social Science Be Both Socially Useful and Scientifically Meaningful?" *American Sociological Review*, August, 1948, Vol. XIII, No. 4. 454-459
3. Thelen, Hebert A., "Engineering Research in Curriculum Building", *Journal of Educational Research*, April, 1948, Vol. VLI, No. 8. 577-596
4. Lewin, Kurt, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics", *Human Relations*, 1947, Vol. I, No. 1. 5-41

quasi-stationary equilibrium exists we can infer, he believes, the existence of equally strong opposing forces.

If we wish to change the level of quasi-stationary equilibrium, that is, bring about change, the most efficient method seems to be to reduce the "negative" forces against change and thus give the "positive" forces towards change the opportunity to act. Lewin cites Bavelas' work with a sewing production group to substantiate this thesis.[x]

Lewin points out that group standards and values are powerful inhibitors of individual change. How then can changes in individual behavior be consummated when resistance to change derives from socially derived values? Lewin suggests that it can be done by diminishing the strength of the social standards through bringing about group-devised changes. He describes four essentials in the process of changing group values in order to bring about changes in the behavior of individuals within the group.

In his second paper[5] Lewin further develops the theme regarding the methodology of effecting changes in group and individual behavior. He points out that in all groups there are key-individuals—"gate-keepers", as he calls them—who should be the focus of the change process. For example, in trying to change the dietary habits of families the key person on whom to focus the forces for change would be the person who purchases the food, in most instances, the mother.

How can we check on the effectiveness of our efforts to bring about changes in behavior? Lewin points out that just as physical activity is constantly guided and redirected by sensory feedback processes, so in a similar way social action can be steered effectively by an ongoing process of fact-collecting which helps the group to evaluate whether it is moving toward its goal and at what rate it is moving towards it; this he terms "reconnaissance".

Theodore M. Newcomb in *Human Relations*[6] develops and documents the thesis that since it is by normal interaction and communication between groups and individuals that the accepted "norm" for reality is constantly being tested and revaluated, then individual or groups autisms can persist only so long as there are limited or no opportunities for communication and interaction. He reminds us that just as an individual's autisms tend to be dissipated when he is enabled to communicate them to a therapist, so group autisms may be dissipated when communication and interaction between own-group and other-group are established and the autisms thereby checked against social reality.

[x] A further substantiation of the thesis may be seen in Coch and French's work reported in Vol. I, No. 4, of *Human Relations*.

5. ——— "Frontiers in Group Dynamics II", *Human Relations*, 1947, Vol. I, No. 2. 143-53

6. Newcomb, Theodore M., "Autistic Hostility and Social Reality", *Human Relations*, 1947, Vol. I, No. 1. 69-84

Herbert A. Thelen in *The School Review*[7] outlines a principle which suggests the applicability of social engineering processes to the instructional situation. Certain social factors, he contends, can be utilized to facilitate the learning process in classrooms, particularly through the method of maximizing the learner's opportunities for interaction with one another as well as with the materials of instruction. The problem then becomes the overcoming of the temporal limits of the classroom situation so that the time available to each learner for self-directed, participatory interaction with his environment is maximal. The author suggests that the way to do this is to divide the class up into small groups. BUT, and this is the all-important principle that may have been ignored in the past, the small groups should be organized in such a fashion that they contain, in the persons of the group members, the requisite skills and knowledge for an effective attack on the manifest learning problem and the necessary social skills for the resolution of interpersonal conflicts and tensions arising in the group situation.

Thus far we have dealt with the broad problem of social engineering and the theory of social change. The techniques whereby changes and engineering are carried out have been described in several recent papers and pamphlets.

The *Report of the Second Summer Laboratory Session*[8], for instance, describes in considerable detail the program and organization of the second National Training Laboratory where delegates develop some of the group skills and concepts required for understanding and controlling social forces impinging on individuals and groups. The major vehicle, the Basic Training Group, for training delegates is carefully described and the roles of the Trainer-Leader and Trainer-Observer delineated. Summary descriptions of various Laboratory Clinics, of change-agent skills, group dimensions and descriptions of the function of the Group Observer comprise the major contents of the report. Some follow-up work is reported which indicates that skills and insights attained during the Training Laboratory are retained and utilized in back-home and on-the-job situations.

Elliot Jaques in *Human Relations*[9] develops the theme that psychoanalytic principles and techniques can guide the social scientist in his efforts to predict

7. Thelen, Herbert A., "Group Dynamics in Instruction: Principle of Least Group Size", *The School Review*, March, 1949, Vol. LVII, No. 3. 139-148

8. *Report of the Second Summer Laboratory Session*, National Training Laboratory in Group Development. National Education Association and Research Center for Group Dynamics, University of Michigan. Bulletin No. 3, 1948. Pp. iii-136

9. Jaques, Elliot, "Interpretive Group Discussion as a Method of Facilitating Social Change", *Human Relations*, 1948, Vol. I, No. 4. 533-549

and control social change. The method of free association, the concepts of transference, of resistance and of unconscious forces seem highly applicable, in Jaques' opinion, to the phenomena of social behavior.

The leaderless, agendaless nature of the discussions which Jaques envisions and the silences and tensions which arise in the situation will tend, he believes, to point up the interpersonal and intragroup tensions and conflicts.

In contrast to Jaques' psychoanalytic approach to social conflict, Carl R. Rogers[10] sets forth the thesis that the principles of client-centered therapy by which individuals have been helped to resolve intrapersonal conflicts may be used with success in the resolution of conflicts both within and between groups.

Eight techniques for assessing social forces are described and exemplified in turn in the May, 1948, issue of the *Psychological Bulletin*[11]. Following the description and exemplification of each technique is a summary analysis of its uses and limitations. The techniques identified are: 1. observation; 2. analysis of personal and public records; 3. action programs; 4. sociometric analyses; 5. interviews; 6. questionnaires; 7. pictorial techniques; and 8. projective techniques . The authors append a long and useful bibliography to the article.

In *Sociometry in Group Relations*[12], Helen H. Jennings contends that the quality of the human relations in a classroom influences the learning process. Teachers, therefore, she argues, should try to get objective data regarding the extent and quality of these inter-pupil relationships. The author offers a careful description of the contruction and administration of a sociometric scale along with recommendations regarding how to make the questionnaire and its results more useful and meaningful from the pupils' point of view.

Douglas McGregor in *The Journal of Social Issues*[13] describes what seems to be the application of Knickerbocker's leadership principle (described in the same issue) to an institution. The effective consultant to an organization is described as he who serves the function of augmenting each member's means of satisfying both his individual needs and the group's purposes.

10. Rogers, Carl R., *Dealing with Social Tensions.* Prepared for the Bureau for Intercultural Education and the American Education Fellowship, 1948. Pp. 30
11. Deri, Susan, et al, "Techniques for the Diagnosing and Measurement of Intergroup Attitudes and Behavior", *Psychological Bulletin,* May, 1948, Vol. 45, No. 3. 248-271
12. Jennings, Helen Hall, *Sociometry in Group Relations.* American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1948. Pp. ix-85
13. McGregor, Douglas, "The Staff Function in Human Relations", *The Journal of Social Issues,* Summer, 1948, Vol. IV, No. 3. 5-22

The effective consultant will always try to see the problem from the consultee's frame of reference, McGregor says. Hence, the staff expert should use the augmentive method of need reduction to help the line man achieve more efficient methods of need reduction.

"Many of us in the human sciences", Hadley Cantril[14] wrote recently, "feel that we must assume our share of responsibility for the solution of problems we see reflected in the many varieties of group tension around us....." The articles and pamphlets reviewed in this paper represent a fairly sizable attempt on the part of a small sampling of the large group of social scientists who are giving evidence of assuming their ".... share of responsibility for the solution of (social) problems....." The papers also give further evidence of the present trend, not only in the social sciences but also in the physical sciences, to pursue research not only for the valid description and reliable prediction of phenomena, but also for the more adequate control of those phenomena for socially desirable ends.

14. Cantril, Hadley, "Toward a Scientific Morality", *The Journal of Psychology,* 1949, 27. 363-376

◆ ◆ ◆

AN EXPERIMENT IN SUMMER SCHOOL CURRICULUM

by NELLIE L. MERRICK AND
MILDRED C. LETTON

An account of the informal and free character of the summer program developed in the Laboratory School of the University of Chicago. The reader will find principles and procedures in this experiment which are applicable to summer programs in the public schools.

Visitors to the summer Laboratory School of the University of Chicago usually register surprise that the program is neither remedial, custodial, nor for credit. Promptly they inquire, "What are you trying to do? Don't you offer any academic subjects? What textbooks do you use? What do the pupils get out of it? How do you make them work without giving letter grades? Why do they attend regularly when it isn't regular school? Do they work so well together because they've known each other a long time? Of course these children are a select group, aren't they?"

In an attempt to answer these and other important questions, we propose to describe the curriculum of the summer Laboratory School as it has been evolving during the last several years. The program is set up for 150 boys and girls, ages 5-14, meeting mornings only (from 8:30-12:15) for five weeks, grouped according to maturity as judged chiefly by chronological age. The group center or homeroom is the hub of pupil activities, such as planning and sharing...visiting a television studio...writing for the *Summer Midway*...enjoying rhythms...interviewing people ...serving on committees...experimenting in the science laboratory...gardening...working in the arts and crafts studios...using the school and community libraries...taking part in assemblies, discussions, and games.

PUPIL PERSONNEL

Boys and girls come to the summer Laboratory School from many different schools and communities. In 1948, for example, about a third of the pupils were members of the regular Laboratory School student body. Another large fraction were from public and private schools in Chicago. Still other youngsters came from communities in other parts of the United States. The tuition fee is kept low, and some scholarship money is available, so as to encourage a diversity of economic backgrounds. Both by accident and intent, racial backgrounds are likewise varied. An attempt is made to keep the number of boys and girls balanced at each age level.

In accepting pupils, no attention is given to academic or intellectual accomplishments. Some of the information the school does obtain is in answer to questions from the application blank, samples of which follow:

> Why do you wish your youngster to participate in this program? What experiences do you hope he will have in the Summer School? Could you tell us some interesting things about your child which would aid us in planning his program? (unusual skills, interesting hobbies, physical limitations, etc.) What are your youngster's favorite books, games, sports, etc.? Does he usually play with children who are older? younger? about the same age?

In spite of the diversity of backgrounds and previous experiences—pupils who are unacquainted with each other; teachers who have not known members of their groups previously; boys and girls with most of their school experience in a relatively formal setting —it is interesting to note the quick and convincing manner in which "groupness" develops.

Various bases have been used for arranging boys and girls in group centers. Customarily, however, each group contains pupils covering at least a two-year age range. Although the use of the grade-level names is regularly minimized in the school, for grouping purposes some attention is, of course, given to the grade the child will be in the following fall. Before 1948, the five-year-olds were grouped by themselves, but since that time the youngest group has consisted of five- and six-year-olds. The oldest group consists chiefly of students ready for 8th and 9th grades in the fall.

WORK EXPERIENCE

During the evaluation of the 1947 summer session, it became increasingly evident that the program as set up, although it seemed to meet the needs and interests of the wide range in age levels (as experimented with for the first time in 1945), did not challenge students who had finished our 9th grade.

Therefore, "work experience" opportunities were offered for the first time in 1948 and have now become a part of our experimental program. This plan makes it possible for approximately ten girls and boys to get valuable job training and expert counseling while contributing to the success of the summer school.

Unlike many work experience groups made up of "non-book-learners", these young people are mature, capable students eager for more adult experiences.

Students who were interested in applying for work experience in 1948 were asked to check on the application blank as many of these abilities as they possibly could: working with younger children, playing the piano, science laboratory work, visual aids, play-ground work, typing, swimming, photography, keeping a log or record of events, lay-outs, leading an orchestra, play production, printing.

Applicants had to be fourteen years of age and have a work permit. They were advised at the start that they would be able to work four hours each day for a 5-day week for 5 weeks. At 40¢ an hour, a maximum of $40.00 could be earned. The more versatile their experiences the more valuable their help in carrying on the summer school program. Some were not placed in one particular job for the five weeks; flexibility proved desirable both to them and to the school.

Group conferences were regularly scheduled twice a week at lunch time. These, along with frequent individual conferences initiated either by the worker, a teacher, or the sponsor, brought out a wealth of fruitful discussion subjects and many comments and questions that indicated the growth of the young people in working effectively with people and in meeting new kinds of responsibilities. Examples of some discussion questions follow:

> When is it better to decide things for yourself rather than check with the person you're working with? How can I be firm when the children are so cute? How should I answer the office telephone in order to be helpful? When do we get paid? Is it all right to tell my family and friends some of the things the children and the teachers and the visitors have said? Why do little children (and sometimes older ones) respond to one sort of handling and not to another?

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER

The staff is ordinarily composed almost entirely of teachers drawn from the regular Laboratory School faculty so as to facilitate the extensive group planning which the faculty engages in during the spring months. Staff activities are coordinated by a teacher designated as chairman of the summer faculty, the group working under the leadership of the Director of the Laboratory School.

Every teacher on the staff is interested in all of the children wherever they are and whatever they are doing. Therefore, in addition to carrying out his own specific assignment, he collaborates with other staff members in working with boys and girls as his time and versatility permit.

The program as a whole is unified through a number of beliefs about the role of the teacher in the learning process. These beliefs, which have developed cooperatively over a period of time, are under constant scrutiny and re-evaluation by each succeeding group of staff members and serve as a basic guide for the program any one year and for continuing curriculum experimentation.

Tentative formulations of some of the specific beliefs about the role of the teacher are:

(1) The teacher helps to guide the teacher-pupil planned activities.

(2) The teacher is an important member of the group. He acts as a friendly leader and guide.

(3.) The teacher provides opportunities for pupils to see alternatives, to make choices, and to realize and accept consequences.

(4) The teacher permits the child to perform first at his own level but challenges him to move beyond this level.

(5) The teacher tries to be equally accessible to each individual in the classroom through an equitable distribution of time and energy.

(6) The teacher deals with pupils in a basically similar and consistent fashion but at the same time shows respect for the uniqueness and individuality of each learner.

(7) The teacher demonstrates to the learner that the teacher is co-operating with each learner as well as with the group by facilitating their attack on the problems confronting them.

(8) The teacher gives the learner opportunities for responsible choice of behavior and for expanding self-direction.

(9) The teacher helps the learner to clarify his ideas and to visualize action possibilities by raising questions about and giving information regarding the problem facing him.

EXAMPLES OF LEARNING EXPERIENCES

I

> Friday, July 20. Today we established an all-time school 'first'—the first all-school assembly, from us down to the kindergarten. And the different age levels were well represented. We furnished the orchestra, the tonette band of the 3rd and 4th grades played several numbers, the kindergarten sang an original song about their talented rabbit, Whitey, and everybody joined in the songs. We were pleased to see that our first all-school assembly seemed a great success.

The above paragraph is quoted from "Highlights of the Summer", a section of the pupils' log book of

activities in the 1945 book. Since that year, when there was only one assembly of this type, all-school assemblies have become a regular part of each Friday's program eagerly looked forward to by children and visitors alike. Neither enjoyment nor learning has seemed to be affected by our having to use as an auditorium a gymnasium that has no stage, poor acoustics, poor ventilation, and only a few chairs.

Aside from the values usually associated with assemblies, this kind of grouping seems to offer other advantages. Meeting together once a week is a unifying experience for the youngsters. Seeing younger children in action often helps the older pupils to understand and enjoy younger members of their own family. With so little time to "prepare", children have opportunities to participate in a program without the pressure and need for a "polished performance."

II

In a description of experiences of five- and six-year-olds, the following was reported during 1948:

> Almost all have had a turn in the garden. Each child has been given a row of flowers or vegetables which were planted this spring. Children have learned to distinguish plants from weeds well enough so that they pull the weeds and not the flowers. This is not very easy for them. They pull enough weeds to get their hands dirty and are doing a very good job. Several have started to reap the rewards of their labors by taking radishes in to show classmates before taking them home. Each child learns the name of the flower or vegetable in his row so that he can tell about it when he gets back to the room.
>
> Youngsters now are beginning to take excursions around the garden. So far we have found four different kinds of flowers in bloom. A few have explored the tool house.

III

For some time several staff members of the Laboratory School have been concerned with the problem of effectively using adults in the community as resource agents to help children understand adults better.

In 1946, the 12- and 13-year-old group center organized several panel discussions using adults and pupils on each panel. As their first topic the class decided to discuss "How to Get along with Older Students" and invited the 14- and 15-year-old group to send three panel members to join three of theirs. A boy from the older group acted as moderator. The discussion was lively and enlightening. The older pupils were glad to get some of their gripes aired; younger ones frequently expressed surprise that some of their actions irritated older schoolmates.

Next, the group center wrote notes to three teachers inviting them to be members of a panel on "How to Get along with Teachers." Because so many students were from other schools they could freely discuss teachers they'd had. Most of the group seemed to be keenly aware of how to cope with teacher personalities and expectations. Over and over again the teachers on the panel were plied with questions such as "Should a whole class be punished for one person's misbehavior?" "How should you treat the teacher's pet?" "What can you do if the teacher asks you to do something for her when you really need the time to study?"

Another panel included parents. This was exciting when problems of bed-time, allowances, radio listening, movie attendance, and clothes were discussed. In 1948, a group of pupils met with several neighborhood storekeepers to discuss why storekeepers often complain about school-age customers. Both groups found it a profitable session, and each appreciated the other's viewpoint more afterward.

Pre-planning for each panel included a listing and preliminary discussion of all problems the group center considered pertinent. When the panel met, attention was centered on questions for which the pupils had been unable to find satisfactory answers. Written invitations were always sent to guests. Thank-you notes were written afterwards.

IV

A highlight of every Friday morning is getting, reading, and discussing the *Summer Midway*, the all-school mimeographed newspaper. Children too young to write dictate their stories to reporters or teachers. To aid beginning readers, pages of special interest to them are usually mimeographed in larger type. Although the management of the paper is largely in the hands of a rotating group of older boys and girls, many students at other age levels contribute stories and drawings, and help with production details.

A second publication which has become an established part of the program is the *Summer Round-Up*, a planographed "yearbook." Through pictures and brief written comment, the book gives each youngster a record of the people he has worked and played with and of some of the activities in which he has engaged. Creative writing is also usually included. In order to have the book ready for distribution by the close of summer school, more responsibility for its production has had to be carried by teachers than would be the case if time were not so short. Since the inauguration of the work experience program, those young people have helped by working on photography, lay-out, and other production details during the rush period of getting the book off to the printer.

REPORTING

Like many other faculties, the summer staffs have continuously attempted to develop adequate methods

of evaluating pupil growth and to improve methods of reporting pupil progress.

In 1946, in collaboration with the Elementary School Workshop of the Department of Education which was interested in observing how staffs work together, a single report form was developed which could be used throughout the entire school. In 1947, this form was revised and simplified somewhat and now includes the following items, spaced on an 8½x 11 sheet leaving room for teacher comments to the right of each item.

HEADING

1. Group participation	
2. Use and care of property, equipment, and materials	
3. Self-direction and wise use of time	

List of Experiences; Additional Comment
(Kinds of things the pupil did)

This report is sent to parents, to the principals of the schools from which the non-Laboratory-School children come, and is put into the permanent file of the Laboratory School pupils. In 1948 the teachers of the youngest group obtained permission of the staff to substitute for the blank conferences plus a brief written statement for the school records. Experimentation with pupil self-evaluation is in process.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

The summer program in the University of Chicago Laboratory School adheres to the School's concept of the curriculum as all of the experiences which it provides for its boys and girls. The summer program is consistent with the School's continuing belief that the curriculum should help young people to solve their contemporary problems and to meet the problems they will be confronted with in the future. The summer school curriculum demonstrates the feasibility of a program which provides valuable learning experiences for a limited number of pupils representing a wide range of age levels and varied geographic, racial, and socio-economic background.

A curriculum such as has been described here need not be unique to any one time or place. Such a curriculum is characterized by freedom from tension, by numerous meaningful contacts among children of many age levels, and by actual opportunities for pupils to take part in planning and in carrying out the plans. In this kind of environment, boys and girls discover that one can learn, for example, from workshop periods, from other people, and from games, as well as from books; that one can be comfortable in new places and situations; that learning can be fun; that adults are people.

◆ ◆ ◆

Dealing with Social Conflict

This book might be called a "Handbook for the Times". It gives guides to thinking and action in current problems of inter-group conflict and anti-minority sentiment, and in dealing with European rehabilitation.

Pointing out that educational institutions and methodology are inevitably colored by the structure of the society in which they exist, Lewin emphasizes the difference in the attitudes of adults toward children in pre-war Germany and in the United States. These adult-child relationships, he demonstrates, were accurately mirrored in the educational systems of the two countries.

Lewin underlines the fact that change in behavior involves changes in values. He argues that democratic patterns of behavior are not necessarily going to be adopted when people are free to choose. Democracy has to be learned. Since this is so, those who are attempting to bring about this learning must safeguard the learning process by ruling out influences which may be detrimental to learning the democratic way of life.

An attempt to force new values on groups or individuals will arouse resistance. How, then, can acceptance of new values and resultant changes in behavior be induced? By leaving the individual free to choose. That, however, seems to contain an element of chance, since one cannot be sure that the choice will be in the direction of the new values and behavior. The process of bringing about behavior changes must involve establishing a group in which members feel belongingness and where freedom of choice exists. Then, as the group is helped to discover new facts these facts can be integrated into each individual's conceptual framework and into the group's culture. Thus changes can be brought about in the members' perceptions and behaviors.

Fact-finding by a group and clarification of the cognitive structure of individuals are crucial in bringing about changes in group and individual behavior. Fact-finding involves changes in perception. Individuals behave in accord with their perceptions. Hence fact-finding and resultant changed perceptions are consummated in changed behaviors. The task of dealing with problems of group and inter-group conflicts involves, Lewin explains, a cycle of diagnosis, planning, action and reconnaissance.

John Withall

[1]A note on *Resolving Social Conflict*, by Kurt Lewin. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948; $3.50.

AMERICAN EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

The American Education Fellowship is an organization of parents, teachers, and school administrators committed to the democratic ideal and devoted to the continuous reconstruction of education for the fuller realization of that ideal in school and society. Founded in 1919 in protest against the prevailing formalism of American schools, it has been influential in liberalizing autocratic administrative patterns in schools and school systems, in promoting creative activities in classrooms, in securing a greater emphasis upon the real life needs of children and youth, in encouraging experimentation with new procedures in curriculum-making and evaluation, and in achieving closer relations between school and community. One of its most noteworthy accomplishments has been the monumental Eight Year Study, which demonstrated the superiority of progressive practices in education. Today the American Education Fellowship is emphasizing, in addition to its historic aims, the responsibility of the schools in the attainment of a secure peace and the improvement of the economic system to provide for the needs of all the people. Membership in the organization is open to all citizens who desire these educational and social improvements.